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DE FOE'S WORKS.

VOL. I.

CAPTAIN SINGLETON,

AND

COLONEL JACK.

THE

NOVELS

AND

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

DANIEL DE FOE.

WITH PREFACES AND NOTES, INCLUDING THOSE ATTRIBUTED TO

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

LIFE, ADVENTURES, AND PIRACIES OF CAPTAIN SINGLETON,

AND

LIFE OF COLONEL JACK.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.
1887.

PR
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E87
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LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

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THE LIFE,

ADVENTURES, AND PIRACIES

OF

CAPTAIN SINGLETON.

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PREFATORY NOTICE

TO THE

LIFE OF CAPTAIN SINGLETON.

THE grand success of Robinson Crusoe having taught De Foe, after he had spent nearly his whole life in endeavouring to instruct the public, that it was more willing to pay for being amused than taught, he moved along briskly in his career of novel writing, and in 1720 published *The Life and Piracies of Captain Singleton*, which forms the subject of the present Volume.

The following extract from Wilson's Life gives a full and interesting account of this work:—

"The favourable reception of 'Robinson Crusoe' might be partly owing to the partiality with which every circumstance, illustrating the character of the British sailor, is viewed by the public. It was probably in accommodation to this national taste, that De Foe now recorded the adventures of a buccaneer, which he depicts with all that spirit of enterprise and variety of incident, which usually mark the operations of that hardy character. This work, which he entitled, 'The Life, Adventures, and Piracies of the famous Captain SINGLETON,' was first printed at London, for J. Brotherton, at the Black Bull in Cornhill; J. Graves, in St. James's Street; A. Dodd, at the Peacock, without

Temple Bar; and T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. 1720. 8vo. pp. 360. 2nd edition. 1737. 12mo. 3rd edition. 1768. 12mo.

"Bob Singleton, as he was familiarly called, knew nothing of his origin, having been trepanned when a child, and sold to a gipsey woman; who happening to be hanged, he was thrown upon the parish. At twelve years old he went to Newfoundland, and upon his return home was captured by a Turkish rover, but re-taken by the Portuguese, and carried to Lisbon. His master dying there, he engaged himself as cabin-boy in a Portuguese vessel bound to the East Indies, and became initiated in every vice. But degraded as he was, he could not but look with horror upon his shipmates, whom he describes as the most profligate of beings. However, 'he that is shipped with the devil, must sail with the devil;' so he continued his voyage. Upon his return from Goa, where he only escaped the inquisition by becoming a good Catholic, the vessel put into Madagascar; and a mutiny taking place amongst the seamen, twenty-seven of them, including young Singleton, were left upon shore. Here they were hospitably treated by the natives: but their new situation not sitting easy upon them, they longed for an opportunity of returning to Europe. Like men in despair, they wandered from one expedient to another; and at length committed themselves to the sea, in a vessel of their own construction. After a perilous voyage of twenty-four days, they reached the main land of Africa, but found themselves in a more barbarous country than that they had quitted. They had now to cross a large continent, which they performed upon foot; and we have a relation of many perilous adventures with wild beasts, and savage nations, as also, of the treasures they collected in their progress. Having at length

reached the western coast, Singleton separated himself from the rest of his companions, and embarking at Cape Coast Castle, returned to England, where he soon dissipated his property. And with this ends the first part of his adventures.

"The second part of his life was no less remarkable, but terminated more hopefully. As soon as he had seen the bottom of his purse, he went on board a trading vessel bound for Cadiz, where he engaged in a conspiracy to seize the ship. But the plot failing, he transferred himself to another vessel that was her companion, and where the crew met with better success. Having chosen Wilmot, one of them, their captain, and Singleton his lieutenant, they laid in stores for a voyage, and put to sea. It was not long before they captured a Spanish sloop, which they manned for a privateer, giving the command to Singleton. After a cruise of two years, they began to grow rich, disposed of the sloop, and transferred the crew to a large Spanish frigate carrying thirty-eight guns, of which Singleton had the command. With this force they swept the seas of every vessel that came within their reach. In one of their prizes was a Quaker from Pennsylvania, a surgeon by profession; who, being a useful person, was made to bear them company, and cuts a considerable figure in the story. They now thought of returning home with their booty, and agreed to rendezvous at Madagascar. Here they fell in with Captain Avery, a noted pirate of those times, whose exploits are matter of history. But a difference now arising between Singleton and the other commander, they parted company, Wilmot carrying away all the spoil. Our hero had now to begin the world again; but he was not disheartened. Having a large frigate carrying 44 guns, and four hundred men, besides a sloop at his disposal, he set sail

again, his friend the Quaker bearing him company. It was not long before they took some valuable prizes, with the contents of which they carried on a considerable trade, and in the end grew very rich. It was now time to think of leaving off so hazardous a mode of life, with the guilt of which our Captain began to have some compunctions of conscience, that were instilled into him by the Quaker. For some considerable time he was under great terror of mind, even bordering upon despair; but the Quaker's discourses brought him to some composure, with a resolution to reform his life, and make all the reparation in his power for the injustice he had committed. The Quaker had a sister in England, to whom he remitted a considerable sum of money, with directions to take a house in the country, as a retreat for them upon their arrival. This they at length accomplished; and the story ends by Singleton's marriage to the fair Quakeress.

"This work is inferior to some of De Foe's narratives. His hero is altogether a worthless character, and the actions recounted of him, are such as few readers would take delight in. From the nature of the story, these, indeed, could not be much otherwise. Singleton is a faithful portrait of a numerous herd that swarmed upon the seas at that period. The events of his life are those of any other pirate, but diversified by some strange adventures, which owe their existence to the fertile brain of the writer. Those who take delight in adventures of this nature, will find much to amuse, if not to instruct them. De Foe has less moralizing in this, than in most of his other works, yet it is not entirely lost sight of; for towards the close, his hero becomes a reformed man. The story of the Quaker, who was the agent in the change, is by far the best part of the work."

THE LIFE,

ADVENTURES, AND PYRACIES

OF THE FAMOUS

CAPTAIN SINGLETON:

CONTAINING

An Account of his being set on shore in the Island of Madagascar; his Settlement there; with a Description of the Place and Inhabitants: of his Passage from thence in a Paraguay to the main land of Africa; with an Account of the Customs and Manners of the People; his great Deliverance from the barbarous Natives and wild Beasts; of his meeting with an Englishman, a Citizen of London, among the Indians; the great Riches he acquired; and his Voyage home to England. As, also, Captain Singleton's Return to Sea; with an Account of his many Adventures and Pyracies with the famous Captain *Avery* and others.

LONDON:

Printed for J. BROTHERTON, at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill*; J. GRAVES, in *St. James's Street*; A. DODD, at the *Peacock*, without *Temple Bar*; and T. WARNER, at the *Black Boy*, in *Paternoster Row*.

1720.

the door, sometimes in sight, sometimes out of sight, thinking no harm.

At this juncture comes by one of those sort of people who, it seems, made it their business to spirit away little children. This was a hellish trade in those days, and chiefly practised where they found little children very well dressed, or for bigger children, to sell them to the plantations.

The woman, pretending to take me up in her arms and kiss me, and play with me, draws the girl a good way from the house, till at last she makes a fine story to the girl, and bids her go back to the maid, and tell her where she was with the child; that a gentlewoman had taken a fancy to the child, and was kissing of it, but she should not be frightened, or to that purpose; for they were but just there; and so, while the girl went, she carried me quite away.

From this time, it seems, I was disposed of to a beggar woman that wanted a pretty little child to set out her case; and, after that, to a gipsey, under whose government I continued till I was about six years old; and this woman, though I was continually dragged about with her from one part of the country to another, yet never let me want for anything; and I called her mother, though she told me at last she was not my mother, but that she bought me for twelve shillings of another woman, who told her how she came by me, and told her that my name was Bob Singleton, not Robert, but plain Bob; for it seems they never knew by what name I was christened.

It is in vain to reflect here, what a terrible fright the careless hussy was in, that lost me; what treatment she received from my justly-enraged father and mother, and the horror these must be in at the thoughts of their child being thus carried away; for, as I never knew anything of the matter, but just what I have related, nor who my father and mother were, so it would make but a needless digression to talk of it here.

My good gipsey mother, for some of her worthy actions no doubt, happened in process of time to be hanged; and, as this fell out something too soon for me to be perfected in the strolling trade, the parish where I was left, which, for my life, I cannot remember, took some care of me to be sure; for the first thing I can remember of myself afterwards, was, that I went to a parish school, and the minister of the parish used

to talk to me to be a good boy; and that, though I was but a poor boy. if I minded my book, and served God, I might make a good man.

I believe I was frequently removed from one town to another, perhaps as the parishes disputed my supposed mother's last settlement. Whether I was so shifted by passes, or otherwise, I know not; but the town where I was last kept, whatever its name was, must not be far off from the sea-side; for a master of a ship, who took a fancy to me, was the first that brought me to a place not far from Southampton, which I afterwards knew to be Bussleton; and there I attended the carpenters, and such people as were employed in building a ship for him; and when it was done, though I was not above twelve years old, he carried me to sea with him, on a voyage to Newfoundland.

I lived well enough, and pleased my master so well, that he called me his own boy; and I would have called him father, but he would not allow it, for he had children of his own. I went three or four voyages with him, and grew a sturdy boy, when, coming home again from the banks of Newfoundland, we were taken by an Algerine rover, or man of war: which, if my account stands right, was about the year 1695, for you may be sure I kept no journal.

I was not much concerned at the disaster, though I saw my master, after having been wounded by a splinter in the head during the engagement, very barbarously used by the Turks; I say, I was not much concerned, till, upon some unlucky thing I said, which, as I remember, was about abusing my master, they took me and beat me most unmercifully with a flat stick on the soles of my feet, so that I could neither go or stand for several days together.

But my good fortune was my friend upon this occasion; for, as they were sailing away with our ship in tow as a prize, steering for the straits, and in sight of the bay of Cadiz, the Turkish rover was attacked by two great Portuguese men of war, and taken and carried into Lisbon.

As I was not much concerned at my captivity, not indeed understanding the consequences of it, if it had continued; so I was not suitably sensible of my deliverance: nor indeed was it so much a deliverance to me, as it would otherwise have been: for my master who was the only friend I had in the world, died at Lisbon of his wounds; and I being then

almost reduced to my primitive state, viz., of starving, had this addition to it, that it was in a foreign country too, where I knew nobody, and could not speak a word of their language. However, I fared better here than I had reason to expect; for, when all the rest of our men had their liberty to go where they would, I, that knew not whither to go, stayed in the ship for several days, till at length one of the lieutenants seeing me, inquired what that young English dog did there, and why they did not turn him on shore.

I heard him, and partly understood what he meant, though not what he said, and began then to be in a terrible fright; for I knew not where to get a bit of bread; when the pilot of the ship, an old seaman, seeing me look very dull, came to me, and speaking broken English to me, told me, I must be gone. "Whither must I go?" said I. "Where you will," said he, "home to your own country, if you will." "How must I go thither?" said I. "Why, have you no friend?" said he. "No," said I, "not in the world, but that dog, pointing to the ship's dog (who, having stolen a piece of meat, just before, had brought it close by me, and I had taken it from him, and eaten it), for he has been a good friend, and brought me my dinner."

"Well, well," says he, "you must have your dinner:" "Will you go with me?" "Yes," says I, "with all my heart." In short, the old pilot took me home with him, and used me tolerably well, though I fared hard enough; and I lived with him about two years, during which time he was soliciting his business, and at length got to be master or pilot under Don Garcia de Pimentesia de Carravallas, captain of a Portuguese galleon, or carrack, which was bound to Goa, in the East Indies; and immediately having gotten his commission, put me on board to look after his cabin, in which he had stored himself with abundance of liquors, succades, sugar, spices, and other things for his accommodation in the voyage, and laid in afterwards a considerable quantity of European goods, fine lace, and linen; and also baize, woollen cloth, stuffs, &c., under the pretence of his clothes.

I was too young in the trade to keep any journal of this voyage, though my master, who was, for a Portuguese, a pretty good artist, prompted me to it: but my not understanding the language, was one hindrance; at least, it served me for an excuse. However, after some time, I

began to look into his charts and books; and, as I could write a tolerable hand, understood some Latin, and began to have a smattering of the Portuguese tongue, so I began to get a little superficial knowledge of navigation, but not such as was likely to be sufficient to carry me through a life of adventure, as mine was to be. In short, I learned several material things in this voyage among the Portuguese; I learnt particularly to be an arrant thief and a bad sailor; and I think I may say they are the best masters, for teaching both these, of any nation in the world.

We made our way for the East Indies, by the coast of Brazil; not that it is in the course of sailing the way thither; but our captain, either on his own account, or by the direction of the merchants, went thither first, where at All Saints' bay, or, as they call it in Portugal, the Rio de Todos los Santos, we delivered near a hundred tons of goods, and took in a considerable quantity of gold, with some chests of sugar, and seventy or eighty great rolls of tobacco, every roll weighing at least a hundred weight.

Here, being lodged on shore by my master's order, I had the charge of the captain's business, he having seen me very diligent for my own master; and in requital for his mistaken confidence, I found means to secure, that is to say, to steal, about twenty moidores out of the gold that was shipped on board by the merchants, and this was my first adventure.

We had a tolerable voyage from hence to the Cape de Bona Speranza; and I was reputed as a mighty diligent servant to my master, and very faithful (I was diligent indeed, but I was very far from honest; however, they thought me honest, which, by the way, was their very great mistake); upon this very mistake the captain took a particular liking to me, and employed me frequently on his own occasions; and, on the other hand, in recompence for my officious diligence, I received several particular favours from him; particularly, I was, by the captain's command, made a kind of a steward under the ship's steward, for such provisions as the captain demanded for his own table: he had another steward for his private stores besides, but my office concerned only what the captain called for of the ship's stores, for his private use.

However, by this means I had opportunity particularly to take care of my master's man, and to furnish myself with

sufficient provisions to make me live much better than the other people in the ship; for the captain seldom ordered anything out of the ship's stores, as above, but I snipt some of it for my own share. We arrived at Goa, in the East Indies, in about seven months, from Lisbon, and remained there eight more; during which time, I had indeed nothing to do, my master being generally on shore, but to learn everything that is wicked among the Portuguese, a nation the most perfidious and the most debauched, the most insolent and cruel, of any that pretend to call themselves Christians, in the world.

Thieving, lying, swearing, forswearing, joined to the most abominable lewdness, was the stated practice of the ship's crew; adding to it, that, with the most unsufferable boasts of their own courage, they were, generally speaking, the most complete cowards that I ever met with; and the consequence of their cowardice was evident upon many occasions. However, there was here and there one among them that was not so bad as the rest; and, as my lot fell among them, it made me have the most contemptible thoughts of the rest, as indeed they deserved.

I was exactly fitted for their society indeed; for I had no sense of virtue or religion upon me. I had never heard much of either, except what a good old parson had said to me when I was a child of about eight or nine years old; nay, I was preparing, and growing up apace, to be as wicked as any body could be, or perhaps ever was. Fate certainly thus directed my beginning, knowing that I had work to do in the world, which nothing but one hardened against all sense of honesty or religion, could go through; and yet, even in this state of original wickedness, I entertained such a settled abhorrence of the abandoned vileness of the Portuguese, that I could not but hate them most heartily from the beginning, and all my life afterwards. They were so brutishly wicked, so base and perfidious, not only to strangers, but to one another; so meanly submissive when subjected; so insolent, or barbarous and tyrannical, when superior, that I thought there was something in them that shocked my very nature. Add to this, that it is natural to an Englishman to hate a coward, it all joined together to make the devil and a Portuguese equally my aversion.

However, according to the English proverb, "He that is

shipped with the devil must sail with the devil;" I was among them, and I managed myself as well as I could. My master had consented that I should assist the captain in the office, as above; but, as I understood afterwards, that the captain allowed my master half a moidore a month for my service, and that he had my name upon the ship's books also, I expected that, when the ship came to be paid four months' wages at the Indies, as they, it seems, always do, my master would let me have something for myself.

But I was wrong in my man, for he was none of that kind: he had taken me up as in distress, and his business was to keep me so, and make his market of me as well as he could; which I began to think of after a different manner than I did at first; for at first I thought he had entertained me in mere charity, upon seeing my distressed circumstances, but did not doubt, but when he put me on board the ship, I should have some wages for my service.

But he thought, it seems, quite otherwise; and, when I procured one to speak to him about it, when the ship was paid at Goa, he flew into the greatest rage imaginable, and called me English dog, young heretic, and threatened to put me into the inquisition. Indeed, of all the names the four and twenty letters could make up, he should not have called me heretic; for, as I knew nothing about religion, neither protestant from papist, or either of them from a Mahometan, I could never be a heretic. However, it passed but a little, but, as young as I was, I had been carried into the inquisition; and, there, if they had asked me if I was a protestant or a catholic, I should have said yes to that which came first. If it had been the protestant they had asked first, it had certainly made a martyr of me for I did not know what.

But the very priest they carried with them, or chaplain of the ship, as we call him, saved me: for, seeing me a boy entirely ignorant of religion, and ready to do or say anything they bid me, he asked me some questions about it, which he found I answered so very simply, that he took it upon him to tell them, he would answer for my being a good catholic; and he hoped he should be the means of saving my soul; and he pleased himself that it was to be a work of merit to him; so he made me as good a papist as any of them in about a week's time.

I then told him my case about my master; how, it is true,

he had taken me up in a miserable case, on board a man-of-war, at Lisbon; and I was indebted to him for bringing me on board this ship; that, if I had been left at Lisbon, I might have starved and the like; and therefore I was willing to serve him; but that I hoped he would give me some little consideration for my service, or let me know how long he expected I should serve him for nothing.

It was all one; neither the priest or any one else could prevail with him, but that I was not his servant but his slave; that he took me in the Algerine; and that I was a Turk; only pretended to be an English boy, to get my liberty; and he would carry me to the inquisition as a Turk.

This frightened me out of my wits; for I had nobody to vouch for me what I was, or from whence I came; but the good Padre Antonio, for that was his name, cleared me of that part by a way I did not understand: for he came to me one morning with two sailors, and told me they must search me, to bear witness that I was not a Turk. I was amazed at them, and frightened; and did not understand them; nor could I imagine what they intended to do to me. However, stripping me, they were soon satisfied; and father Anthony bade me be easy, for they could all witness that I was no Turk. So I escaped that part of my master's cruelty.

And now I resolved from that time to run away from him if I could; but there was no doing of it there; for there were not ships of any nation in the world, in that port, except two or three Persian vessels from Ormus; so that, if I had offered to go away from him, he would have had me seized on shore, and brought on board by force: so that I had no remedy but patience, and this he brought to an end too as soon as he could; for after this he began to use me ill, and not only to straiten my provisions, but to beat and torture me in a barbarous manner for every trifle; so that, in a word, my life began to be very miserable.

The violence of this usage of me, and the impossibility of my escape from his hands, set my head a working upon all sorts of mischief; and, in particular, I resolved, after studying all other ways to deliver myself, and finding all ineffectual, I say, I resolved to murder him. With this hellish resolution in my head, I spent whole nights and days contriving how to put it in execution, the devil prompting me very warmly to the fact. I was indeed en-

tirely at a loss for the means; for I had neither gun or sword, nor any weapon to assault him with. Poison I had my thoughts much upon, but knew not where to get any; or, if I might have got it, I did not know the country word for it, or by what name to ask for it.

In this manner I was guilty of the fact intentionally a hundred and a hundred times; but Providence, either for his sake or for mine, always frustrated my designs, and I could never bring it to pass: so I was obliged to continue in his chains till the ship, having taken in her loading, set sail for Portugal.

I can say nothing here to the manner of our voyage; for, as I said, I kept no journal; but this I can give an account of, that, having been once as high as the Cape of Good Hope, as we call it, or Cabo de Bona Speranza, as they call it, we were driven back again by a violent storm from the W.S.W., which held us, six days and nights, a great way to the eastward; and after that running afore the wind for several days more, we at last came to an anchor on the coast of Madagascar.

The storm had been so violent that the ship had received a great deal of damage, and it required some time to repair her; so, standing in nearer the shore, the pilot, my master, brought the ship into a very good road, where we rid in twenty-six fathom water, about half-a-mile from the shore.

While the ship rode here, there happened a most desperate mutiny among the men, upon account of some deficiency in their allowance, which came to that height that they threatened the captain to set him on shore, and go back with the ship to Goa. I wished they would with all my heart, for I was full of mischief in my head, and ready enough to do any. So, though I was but a boy, as they called me, yet I prompted the mischief all I could, and embarked in it so openly that I escaped very little being hanged in the first and most early part of my life; for the captain had some notice that there was a design laid by some of the company to murder him; and having, partly by money and promises, and partly by threatening and torture, brought two fellows to confess the particulars and the names of the persons concerned, they were presently apprehended, till, one accusing another, no less than sixteen men were seized and put into irons, whereof I was one.

The captain, who was made desperate by his danger, resolving to clear the ship of his enemies, tried us all, and we were all condemned to die. The manner of his process I was too young to take notice of; but the purser and one of the gunners were hanged immediately, and I expected it with the rest. I do not remember any great concern I was under about it, only that I cried very much; for I knew little then of this world, and nothing at all of the next.

However, the captain contented himself with executing these two; and some of the rest, upon their humble submission, and promise of future good behaviour, were pardoned; but five were ordered to be set on shore on the island, and left there, of which I was one. My master used all his interest with the captain to have me excused, but could not obtain it; for somebody having told him that I was one of them who was singled out to have killed him, when my master desired I might not be set on shore, the captain told him I should stay on board if he desired it, but then I should be hanged; so he might choose for me which he thought best. The captain, it seems, was particularly provoked at my being concerned in the treachery, because of his having been so kind to me, and of his having singled me out to serve him, as I have said above; and this perhaps obliged him to give my master such a rough choice, either to set me on shore or to have me hanged on board; and had my master indeed known what good-will I had for him, he would not have been long in choosing for me; for I had certainly determined to do him a mischief the first opportunity I had for it. This was, therefore, a good providence for me, to keep me from dipping my hands in blood, and it made me more tender afterwards in matters of blood than I believe I should otherwise have been. But as to my being one of them that was to kill the captain, that I was wronged in, for I was not the person; but it was really one of them that were pardoned, he having the good luck not to have that part discovered.

I was now to enter upon a part of independent life,—a thing I was indeed very ill prepared to manage; for I was perfectly loose and dissolute in my behaviour, bold and wicked while I was under government, and now perfectly unfit to be trusted with liberty; for I was as ripe for any villany as a young fellow that had no solid thought ever

placed in his mind could be supposed to be. Education, as you have heard, I had none; and all the little scenes of life I had passed through had been full of dangers and desperate circumstances; but I was either so young or so stupid, that I escaped the grief and anxiety of them, for want of having a sense of their tendency and consequences.

This thoughtless, unconcerned temper had one felicity indeed in it—that it made me daring and ready for doing any mischief, and kept off the sorrow which otherwise ought to have attended me when I fell into any mischief; that this stupidity was instead of a happiness to me, for it left my thoughts free to act upon means of escape and deliverance in my distress, however great it might be; whereas my companions in the distress were so sunk by their fear and grief that they abandoned themselves to the misery of their condition, and gave over all thought but of their perishing and starving, being devoured by wild beasts, murdered, and perhaps eaten by cannibals, and the like.

I was but a young fellow about seventeen or eighteen; but hearing what was to be my fate, I received it with no appearance of discouragement; but I asked what my master said to it, and being told that he had used his utmost interest to save me, but the captain had answered I should either go on shore or be hanged on board, which he pleased. I then gave over all hope of being received again. I was not very thankful in my thoughts to my master for his soliciting the captain for me, because I knew that what he did was not in kindness to me so much as in kindness to himself; I mean to preserve the wages which he got for me, which amounted to about six dollars a month, including what the captain allowed him for my particular service to him.

When I understood that my master was so apparently kind, I asked if I might not be admitted to speak with him, and they told me I might, if my master would come down to me, but I could not be allowed to come up to him; so then I desired my master might be told to come to me, and he accordingly came to me; I fell on my knees to him, and begged he would forgive me what I had done to displease him; and indeed the resolution I had taken to murder him lay with some horror upon my mind just at that time, so that I was once just a-going to confess it, and beg him to forgive me, but I kept it in: he said he had done all he could to

obtain my pardon of the captain, but could not: and he knew no way for me but to have patience, and submit to my fate; and if they came to speak with any ship of their nation at the Cape, he would endeavour to have them stand in, and fetch us off again if we might be found.

Then I begged I might have my clothes on shore with me. He told me he was afraid I should have little need of clothes, for he did not see how we could long subsist on the island, and that he had been informed that the inhabitants were cannibals or men-eaters (though he had no reason for that suggestion), and we should not be able to live among them; I told him I was not so afraid of that, as I was of starving for want of victuals; and as for the inhabitants being cannibals, I believed we should be more likely to eat them, than they us, if we could but get at them: but I was mightily concerned, I said, we should have no weapons with us to defend ourselves, and I begged nothing now, but that he would give me a gun and a sword, with a little powder and shot.

He smiled; and said, they would signify nothing to us, for it was impossible for us to pretend to preserve our lives among such a populous and desperate nation as the people of the island were. I told him that, however, it would do us this good, for we should be devoured or destroyed immediately; so I begged hard for the gun. At last he told me, he did not know whether the captain would give him leave to give me a gun, and if not, he durst not do it; but he promised to use his interest to obtain it for me, which he did, and the next day he sent me a gun, with some ammunition, but told me, the captain would not suffer the ammunition to be given us, till we were set all on shore, and till he was just going to set sail. He also sent me the few clothes I had in the ship, which indeed were not many.

Two days after this we were all carried on shore together; the rest of my fellow-criminals hearing I had a gun and some powder and shot, solicited for liberty to carry the like with them, which was also granted them; and thus we were set on shore to shift for ourselves.

At our first coming into the island, we were terrified exceedingly with the sight of the barbarous people; whose figure was made more terrible to us than really it was, by the report we had of them from the seamen; but when we came to converse with them awhile, we found they were not

cannibals, as was reported, or such as would fall immediately upon us and eat us up: but they came and sat down by us, and wondered much at our clothes and arms, and made signs to give us some victuals, such as they had, which was only roots and plants dug out of the ground, for the present, but they brought us fowls and flesh afterwards, in good plenty.

This encouraged the other four men that were with me very much, for they were quite dejected before; but now they began to be very familiar with them, and made signs, that if they would use us kindly, we would stay and live with them; which they seemed glad of, though they knew little of the necessity we were under to do so, or how much we were afraid of them.

However, upon other thoughts, we resolved that we would only stay in that part so long as the ship rid in the bay, and then, making them believe we were gone with the ship, we would go and place ourselves, if possible, where there were no inhabitants to be seen, and so live as we could, or perhaps watch for a ship that might be driven upon the coast, as we were.

The ship continued a fortnight in the roads repairing some damage which had been done her in the late storm, and taking in wood and water; and during this time the boat coming often on shore, the men brought us several refreshments, and the natives believing we only belonged to the ship, were civil enough. We lived in a kind of a tent on the shore, or rather a hut, which we made with the boughs of trees, and sometimes in the night retired to a wood a little out of their way, to let them think we were gone on board the ship. However, we found them barbarous, treacherous, and villanous enough in their nature, only civil for fear, and therefore concluded we should soon fall into their hands when the ship was gone.

The sense of this wrought upon my fellow-sufferers even to distraction; and one of them, being a carpenter, in his mad fit, swam off to the ship in the night, though she lay then a league to sea, and made such pitiful moan to be taken in, that the captain was prevailed with at last to take him in, though they let him lie swimming three hours in the water before he consented to it.

Upon this, and his humble submission, the captain received him, and, in a word, the importunity of this man

(who for some time petitioned to be taken in, though they hanged him as soon as they had him), was such as could not be resisted; for, after he had swam so long about the ship, he was not able to have reached the shore again; and the captain saw evidently, that the man must be taken on board, or suffered to drown, and the whole ship's company offering to be bound for him for his good behaviour, the captain at last yielded, and he was taken up, but almost dead with his being so long in the water.

When this man was got in, he never left off importuning the captain, and all the rest of the officers, in behalf of us that were behind; but to the very last day the captain was inexorable; when, at the time their preparations were making to sail, and orders given to hoist the boats into the ship, all the seamen in a body came up to the rail of the quarter-deck, where the captain was walking with some of his officers, and appointing the boatswain to speak for them, he went up, and falling on his knees to the captain, begged of him, in the humblest manner possible, to receive the four men on board again, offering to answer for their fidelity, or to have them kept in chains till they came to Lisbon, and there to be delivered up to justice, rather than, as they said, to have them left to be murdered by savages, or devoured by wild beasts. It was a great while ere the captain took any notice of them, but when he did, he ordered the boatswain to be seized, and threatened to bring him to the capstan for speaking for them.

CHAPTER II.

THE SEAMEN INTERCEDE TO HAVE US TAKEN ON BOARD—ON THE CAPTAIN'S REFUSAL, TWENTY-THREE OF THE MEN, WELL ARMED, LEAVE THE SHIP, AND JOIN US ASHORE—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES—WE MAKE A CANOE TO ESCAPE IN—AFTER VARIOUS ADVENTURES WE PUT TO SEA.

Upon this severity, one of the seamen, bolder than the rest, but still with all possible respect to the captain, besought his honour, as he called him, that he would give leave to some more of them to go on shore, and die with their companions,

or, if possible, to assist them to resist the barbarians. The captain, rather provoked than cowed with this, came to the barricado of the quarter-deck, and speaking very prudently to the men (for, had he spoken roughly, two-thirds of them would have left the ship, if not all of them), he told them, it was for their safety as well as his own, that he had been obliged to that severity; that mutiny on board a ship was the same thing as treason in the king's palace, and he could not answer it to his owners and employers to trust the ship and goods committed to his charge with men who had entertained thoughts of the worst and blackest nature; that he wished heartily that it had been anywhere else that they had been set on shore, where they might have been in less hazard from the savages; that, if he had designed they should be destroyed, he could as well have executed them on board as the other two; that he wished it had been in some other part of the world, where he might have delivered them up to the civil justice, or might have left them among Christians; but that it was better their lives were put in hazard, than his life, and the safety of the ship; and that, though he did not know that he had deserved so ill of any of them, as that they should leave the ship rather than do their duty, yet if any of them were resolved to do so, unless he would consent to take a gang of traitors on board, who, as he had proved before them all, had conspired to murder him, he would not hinder them, nor, for the present, would he resent their importunity; but, if there was nobody left in the ship but myself, he would never consent to take them on board.

This discourse was delivered so well, was in itself so reasonable, was managed with so much temper, yet so boldly concluded with a negative, that the greatest part of the men were satisfied for the present: however, as it put the men into juntos and cabals, they were not composed for some hours; the wind also slackening towards night, the captain ordered not to weigh till next morning.

The same night twenty-three of the men, among whom was the gunner's mate, the surgeon's assistant, and two carpenters applying to the chief mate, told him, that, as the captain had given them leave to go on shore to their comrades, they begged that he would speak to the captain not to take it ill that they were desirous to go and die with their companions; and that they thought they could do no less

in such an extremity, than go to them; because, if there was any way to save their lives, it was by adding to their numbers, and making them strong enough to assist one another in defending themselves against the savages, till perhaps they might one time or other find means to make their escape, and get to their own country again.

The mate told them in so many words, that he durst not speak to the captain upon any such design, and was very sorry they had no more respect for him, than to desire him to go upon such an errand; but, if they were resolved upon such an enterprise, he would advise them to take the long-boat in the morning betimes, and go off, seeing the captain had given them leave, and leave a civil letter behind him to the captain, and to desire him to send his men on shore for the boat, which should be delivered very honestly, and he promised to keep their counsel so long.

Accordingly, an hour before day, those twenty-three men, with every man a firelock and cutlass, with some pistols, three halberts or half-pikes, and good store of powder and ball, without any provision but about half a hundred of bread, but with all their chests and clothes, tools, instruments, books, &c., embarked themselves so silently, that the captain got no notice of it till they were gotten half the way on shore.

As soon as the captain heard of it, he called for the gunner's mate, the chief gunner being at that time sick in his cabin, and ordered to fire at them; but, to his great mortification, the gunner's mate was one of the number, and was gone with them; and, indeed, it was by this means they got so many arms and so much ammunition. When the captain found how it was, and that there was no help for it, he began to be a little appeased, made light of it, and called up the men, spoke kindly to them, and told them he was very well satisfied in the fidelity and ability of those that were now left; and that he would give to them, for their encouragement, to be divided among them, the wages which were due to the men that were gone; and that it was a great satisfaction to him that the ship was freed from such a mutinous rabble, who had not the least reason for their discontent.

The men seemed very well satisfied, and particularly the promise of the wages of those that were gone, went a great

way with them. After this the letter which was left by the men was given to the captain, by his boy, with whom, it seems, the men had left it. The letter was much to the same purpose of what they had said to the mate, and which he declined to say for them; only that at the end of their letter they told the captain, that as they had no dishonest design, so they had taken nothing away with them which was not their own, except some arms and ammunition, such as were absolutely necessary to them, as well for their defence against the savages, as to kill fowls or beasts for their food that they might not perish; and as there were considerable sums due to them for wages, they hoped he would allow the arms and ammunition upon their accounts. They told him, that as to the ship's long-boat, which they had taken to bring them on shore, they knew it was necessary to him, and they were willing to restore it to him; and, if he pleased to send for it, it should be very honestly delivered to his men, and not the least injury offered to any of those who came for it, not the least persuasion or invitation made use of to any of them to stay with them; and, at the bottom of the letter, they very humbly besought him, that, for their defence, and for the safety of their lives, he would be pleased to send them a barrel of powder, and some ammunition, and give them leave to keep the mast and sail of the boat, that if it was possible for them to make themselves a boat of any kind, they might shift off to sea, to save themselves in such part of the world as their fate should direct them to.

Upon this the captain, who had won much upon the rest of his men by what he had said to them, and was very easy as to the general peace (for it was very true, that the most mutinous of the men were gone), came out to the quarter-deck, and, calling the men together, let them know the substance of the letter; and told the men, that, however, they had not deserved such civility from him, yet he was not willing to expose them more than they were willing to expose themselves, he was inclined to send them some ammunition; and, as they had desired but one barrel of powder, he would send them two barrels, and shot, or lead, and moulds to make shot, in proportion; and to let them see that he was civiler to them than they deserved, he ordered a cask of arrack, and a great bag of bread, to be sent them for subsistence, till they should be able to furnish themselves.

The rest of the men applauded the captain's generosity, and every one of them sent us something or other; and about three in the afternoon the pinnace came on shore, and brought us all these things, which we were very glad of, and returned the long-boat accordingly; and as to the men that came with the pinnace, as the captain had singled out such men as he knew would not come over to us, so they had positive orders not to bring any one of us on board again, upon pain of death; and indeed both were so true to our points, that we neither asked them to stay, nor they us to go.

We were now a good troop, being in all twenty-seven men, very well armed, and provided with everything but victuals; we had two carpenters among us, a gunner, and, which was worth all the rest, a surgeon or doctor, that is to say, he was an assistant to a surgeon at Goa, and was entertained as a supernumerary with us. The carpenters had brought all their tools, the doctor all his instruments and medicines, and indeed we had a great deal of baggage, that is to say, in the whole, for some of us had little more than the clothes on our backs, of whom I was one; but I had one thing which none of them had, viz., I had the twenty-two moidores of gold, which I stole at the Brazils, and two pieces of eight. The two pieces of eight I showed, and one moidore, but no more; and none of them ever suspected that I had any more money in the world, having been known to be only a poor boy taken up in charity, as you have heard, and used like a slave, and in the worst manner of a slave, by my cruel master the pilot.

It will be easy to imagine we four, that were left at first, were joyful, nay, even surprised with joy, at the coming of the rest, though at first we were frightened, and thought they came to fetch us back to hang us; but they took ways quickly to satisfy us that they were in the same condition with us, only with this additional circumstance, that theirs was voluntary, and ours by force.

The first piece of news they told us after the short history of their coming away, was, that our companion was on board, but how he got thither, we could not imagine; for he had given us the slip, and we never imagined he could swim so well as to venture off to the ship, which lay at so great a distance; nay, we did not so much as know that he could

swim at all, and not thinking anything of what really happened, we thought he really must have wandered into the woods, and was devoured, or was fallen into the hands of the natives, and was murdered; and these thoughts filled us with fears enough, and of several kinds, about its being some time or other our lot to fall into their hands also.

But hearing how he had with much difficulty been received on board the ship again, and pardoned, we were much better satisfied than before.

Being now, as I have said, a considerable number of us, and in condition to defend ourselves, the first thing we did was to give every one his hand, that we would not separate from one another upon any occasion whatsoever, but that we would live and die together; that we would kill no food, but that we would distribute it in public; and that we would be in all things guided by the majority, and not insist upon our own resolutions in anything, if the majority were against it; that we would appoint a captain among us to be our governor or leader during pleasure; that while he was in office, we would obey him without reserve, on pain of death; and that every one should take turn, but the captain was not to act in any particular thing without advice of the rest, and by the majority.

Having established these rules, we resolved to enter into some measures for our food, and for conversing with the inhabitants or natives of the island for our supply; as for food, they were at first very useful to us, but we soon grew weary of them, being an ignorant, ravenous, brutish sort of people, even worse than the natives of any other country that we had seen; and we soon found that the principal part of our subsistence was to be had by our guns, shooting of deer and other creatures, and fowls of all other sorts, of which there is abundance.

We found the natives did not disturb or concern themselves much about us; nor did they inquire or perhaps know whether we stayed among them or not, much less that our ship was gone quite away, and had cast us off, as was our case; for the next morning after we had sent back the long-boat, the ship stood away to the south-east, and in four hours' time was out of our sight.

The next day, two of us went out into the country one way, and two another, to see what kind of a land we were

in; and we soon found the country was very pleasant and fruitful, and a convenient place to live in; but, as before, inhabited by a parcel of creatures scarce human, or capable of being made sociable on any account whatsoever.

We found the place full of cattle and provisions: but whether we might venture to take them where we could find them, or not, we did not know; and though we were under a necessity to get provisions, yet we were loath to bring down a whole nation of devils upon us at once, and, therefore, some of our company agreed to try to speak with some of the country, if we could, that we might see what course was to be taken with them. Eleven of our men went on this errand, well armed, and furnished for defence. They brought word, that they had seen some of the natives, who appeared very civil to them, but very shy and afraid, seeing their guns; for it was easy to perceive, that the natives knew what their guns were and what use they were of.

They made signs to the natives for some food, and they went and fetched several herbs and roots, and some milk; but it was evident they did not design to give it away, but to sell it, making signs to know what our men would give them.

Our men were perplexed at this, for they had nothing to barter; however, one of the men pulled out a knife and showed them, and they were so fond of it, that they were ready to go together by the ears for the knife: the seaman seeing that, was willing to make a good market of his knife, and keeping them chaffering a good while, some offered him roots, and others milk; at last one offered him a goat for it, which he took. Then another of our men showed them another knife, but they had nothing good enough for that, whereupon one of them made signs that he would go and fetch something; so our men stayed three hours for their return, when they came back, and brought him a small-sized, thick, short cow, very fat, and good meat, and gave him for his knife.

This was a good market, but our misfortune was, we had no merchandise; for our knives were as needful to us as to them, and but that we were in distress for food and must of necessity have some, these men would not have parted with their knives.

However, in a little time more, we found that the woods

were full of living creatures which we might kill for our food, and that without giving offence to them; so that our men went daily out a hunting, and never failed to kill something or other; for, as to the natives, we had no goods to barter, and for money, all the stock among us would not have subsisted us long; however, we called a general council to see what money we had, and to bring it all together, that it might go as far as possible; and when it came to my turn, I pulled out a moidore and the two dollars I spoke of before.

This moidore I ventured to show, that they might not despise me too much for adding too little to the store, and that they might not pretend to search me; and they were very civil to me, upon the presumption that I had been so faithful to them as not to conceal anything from them.

But our money did us little service, for the people neither knew the value or the use of it, nor could they justly rate the gold in proportion with the silver; so that all our money, which was not much when it was all put together, would go but a little way with us, that is to say, to buy us provisions.

Our next consideration was, to get away from this cursed place, and whither to go. When my opinion came to be asked, I told them I would leave that all to them, and I told them I had rather they would let me go into the woods to get them some provisions, than consult with me, for I would agree to whatever they did; but they would not agree to that, for they would not consent that any of us should go into the woods alone; for though we had yet seen no lions or tigers in the woods, we were assured there were many in the island, besides other creatures as dangerous, and perhaps worse, as we afterwards found by our own experience.

We had many adventures in the woods for our provisions, and often met with wild and terrible beasts, which we could not call by their names; but as they were, like us, seeking their prey, but were themselves good for nothing, so we disturbed them as little as possible.

Our consultations concerning our escape from this place, which, as I have said, we were now upon, ended in this only, that as we had two carpenters among us, and that they had tools almost of all sorts with them, we should try to build us a boat to go off to sea with, and that then perhaps we might find our way back to Goa, or land on some more proper place to make our escape. The counsels of this assembly

were not of great moment; yet, as they seem to be introductory of many more remarkable adventures which happened under my conduct hereabouts many years after, I think this miniature of my future enterprises may not be unpleasant to relate.

To the building of a boat I made no objection, and away they went to work immediately: but as they went on, great difficulties occurred, such as want of saws to cut out plank; nails, bolts, and spikes, to fasten the timbers; hemp, pitch and tar, to caulk and pay her seams, and the like. At length one of the company proposed, that, instead of building a barque or sloop, or shallop, or whatever they would call it, which they found was so difficult, they should rather make a large periagua, or canoe, which might be done with great ease.

It was presently objected, that we could never make a canoe large enough to pass the great ocean, which we were to go over, to get to the coast of Malabar; that it not only would not bear the sea, but it would never bear the burthen; for we were not only twenty-seven men of us, but had a great deal of luggage with us, and must, for our provision, take in a great deal more.

I never proposed to speak in their general consultations before; but finding they were at some loss about what kind of vessel they should make, and how to make it; and what would be fit for our use, and what not; I told them, I found they were at a full stop in their counsels of every kind; that it was true we could never pretend to go over to Goa, or the coast of Malabar, in a canoe, which, though we could all get into it, and that it would bear the sea well enough, yet would not hold our provisions, and especially we could not put fresh water enough into it for the voyage; and to make such an adventure would be nothing but mere running into certain destruction, and yet that nevertheless I was for making a canoe.

They answered, that they understood all I had said before well enough, but what I meant by telling them first how dangerous and impossible it was to make our escape in a canoe, and yet then to advise making a canoe, that they could not understand.

To this I answered, that I conceived our business was not to attempt our escape in a canoe, but that, as there were

other vessels at sea besides our ship, and that there were few nations that lived on the seashore that were so barbarous, but that they went to sea in some boats or other, our business was to cruise along the coast of the island, which was very long, and to seize upon the first we could get that was better than our own, and so from that to another, till perhaps we might at last get a good ship to carry us whither ever we pleased to go.

Excellent advice, says one of them. Admirable advice, says another. Yes, yes, says the third (which was the gunner), the English dog has given excellent advice; but it is just the way to bring us all to the gallows. The rogue has given devilish advice, indeed, to go a-thieving, till from a little vessel we come to a great ship, and so we shall turn downright pirates, the end of which is to be hanged.

You may call us pirates, says another, if you will; and, if we fall into bad hands, we may be used like pirates; but I care not for that, I'll be a pirate, or anything, nay, I'll be hanged for a pirate, rather than starve here; and therefore I think the advice is very good; and so they cried all, Let us have a canoe. The gunner, overruled by the rest, submitted; but as we broke up the council, he came to me, takes me by the hand, and looking into the palm of my hand, and into my face too, very gravely, My lad, says he, thou art born to do a world of mischief; thou hast commenced pirate very young; but have a care of the gallows, young man; have a care, I say, for thou wilt be an eminent thief.

I laughed at him, and told him I did not know what I might come to hereafter; but as our case was now, I should make no scruple to take the first ship I came at, to get our liberty; I only wished we could see one, and come at her. Just while we were talking, one of our men that was at the door of our hut, told us, that the carpenter, who, it seems, was upon a hill at a distance, cried out, A sail! a sail!

We all turned out immediately; but, though it was very clear weather, we could see nothing; but the carpenter continuing to halloo to us, A sail! a sail! away we ran up the hill, and there we saw a ship plainly; but it was at a very great distance, too far for us to make any signal to her. However, we made a fire upon the hill, with all the wood we could get together, and made as much smoke as possible. The wind was down, and it was almost calm; but as we

thought, by a perspective glass which the gunner had in his pocket, her sails were full, and she stood away large with the wind at E.N.E., taking no notice of our signal, but making for the Cape de Bona Speranza: so we had no comfort from her.

We went therefore immediately to work about our intended canoe; and, having singled out a very large tree to our mind, we fell to work with her; and having three good axes among us, we got it down, but it was four days time first, though we worked very hard too. I do not remember what wood it was, or exactly what dimensions; but I remember that it was a very large one, and we were as much encouraged when we launched it, and found it swam upright and steady, as we would have been at another time, if we had had a good man-of-war at our command.

She was so very large, that she carried us all very easily, and would have carried two or three ton of baggage with us; so that we began to consult about going to sea directly to Goa; but many other considerations checked that thought, especially when we came to look nearer into it: such as want of provisions, and no casks for fresh water; no compass to steer by; no shelter from the breach of the high sea, which would certainly founder us: no defence from the heat of the weather and the like: so that they all came readily into my project to cruise about where we were, and see what might offer.

Accordingly, to gratify our fancy, we went one day all out to sea in her together, and we were in a very fair way to have had enough of it; for when she had us all on board, and that we were gotten about half a league to sea, there happening to be a pretty high swell of the sea, though little or no wind, yet she wallowed so in the sea, that we all of us thought she would at last wallow herself bottom up; so we set all to work to get her in nearer the shore, and giving her fresh way in the sea, she swam more steady, and with some hard work we got her under the land again.

We were now at a great loss; the natives were civil enough to us, and came often to discourse with us; one time they brought one whom they showed respect to as a king. with them, and they set up a long pole between them and us, with a great tassel of hair hanging, not on the top, but something above the middle of it, adorned with little chains,

shells, bits of brass, and the like; and this we understood afterwards was a token of amity and friendship; and they brought down to us victuals in abundance, cattle, fowls, herbs, and roots; but we were in the utmost confusion on our side; for we had nothing to buy with, or exchange for; and as to giving us things for nothing, they had no notion of that again. As to our money, it was mere trash to them, they had no value for it; so that we were in a fair way to be starved. Had we had but some toys and trinkets, brass chains, baubles, glass beads, or, in a word, the veriest trifles that a ship load would not have been worth the freight, we might have bought cattle and provisions enough for an army, or to victual a fleet of men-of-war, but for gold or silver we could get nothing.

Upon this we were in a strange consternation. I was but a young fellow, but I was for falling upon them with our fire-arms, and taking all the cattle from them, and send them to the devil to stop their hunger, rather than be starved ourselves: but I did not consider that this might have brought ten thousand of them down upon us the next day; and though we might have killed a vast number of them, and perhaps have frightened the rest, yet their own desperation, and our small number, would have animated them so, that one time or other they would have destroyed us all.

In the middle of our consultation, one of our men, who had been a kind of a cutler, or worker in iron, started up, and asked the carpenter, if, among all his tools, he could not help him to a file. Yes, says the carpenter, I can, but it is a small one. The smaller the better, says the other. Upon this he goes to work, and first, by heating a piece of an old broken chisel in the fire, and then he takes three or four pieces of eight, and beats them out with a hammer upon a stone, till they were very broad and thin, then he cut them out into the shape of birds and beasts; he made little chains of them for bracelets and necklaces, and turned them into so many devices, of his own head, that it is hardly to be expressed.

When he had for about a fortnight exercised his head and hands at this work, we tried the effect of his ingenuity; and, having another meeting with the natives, were surprised to see the folly of the poor people. For a little bit of silver cut out in the shape of a bird, we had two cows, and,

which was our loss, if it had been in brass, it had been still of more value. For one of the bracelets made of chain-work, we had as much provision of several sorts, as would fairly have been worth, in England, fifteen or sixteen pounds; and so of all the rest. Thus, that which when it was in coin was not worth sixpence to us, when thus converted into toys and trifles, was worth a hundred times its real value, and purchased for us anything we had occasion for.

In this condition we lived upwards of a year, but all of us began to be very much tired of it, and, whatever came of it, resolved to attempt an escape. We had furnished ourselves with no less than three very good canoes; and as the monsoons, or tradewinds, generally affect that country, blowing in most parts of this island one six months of a year one way, and the other six months another way, we concluded we might be able to bear the sea well enough. But always, when we came to look nearer into it, the want of fresh water was the thing that put us off from such an adventure, for it is a prodigious length, and what no man on earth could be able to perform without water to drink.

Being thus prevailed upon by our own reason to set the thoughts of that voyage aside, we had then but two things before us; one was, to put to sea the other way, viz., west, and go away for the Cape of Good Hope, where, first or last, we should meet with some of our own country ships, or else to put for the mainland of Africa, and either travel by land, or sail along the coast towards the Red Sea, where we should, first or last, find a ship of some nation or other, that would take us up; or, perhaps, we might take them up, which, by the bye, was the thing that always run in my head.

It was our ingenious cutler, whom ever after we called silversmith, that proposed this; but the gunner told him, that he had been in the Red Sea in a Malabar sloop, and he knew this, that, if we went into the Red Sea, we should either be killed by the wild Arabs, or taken and made slaves of by the Turks; and therefore he was not for going that way.

Upon this I took occasion to put in my vote again. Why, said I, do we talk of being killed by the Arabs, or made slaves of by the Turks? Are we not able to board almost any vessel we shall meet with in those seas; and, instead of their taking us, we to take them? Well done, pirate, said

the gunner (he that had looked in my hand, and told me I should come to the gallows), I'll say that for him, says he, he always looks the same way. But I think of my conscience, it is our only way now. Do not tell me, says I, of being a pirate: we must be pirates, or anything, to get fairly out of this cursed place.

In a word, they concluded all, by my advice, that our business was to cruise for anything we could see. Why then, said I to them, our first business is to see, if the people upon this island have any navigation, and what boats they use; and, if they have any better or bigger than ours, let us take one of them. First, indeed, all our aim was, to get, if possible, a boat with a deck and a sail; for then we might have saved our provisions, which otherwise we could not.

We had, to our great good fortune, one sailor among us, who had been assistant to the cook; he told us, that he would find a way how to preserve our beef, without cask or pickle; and this he did effectually by curing it in the sun, with the help of saltpetre, of which there was great plenty in the island; so that, before we found any method for our escape, we had dried the flesh of six or seven cows and bullocks, and ten or twelve goats, and it relished so well, that we never gave ourselves the trouble to boil it when we eat it, but either broiled it, or eat it dry: but our main difficulty about fresh water still remained; for we had no vessel to put any into, much less to keep any for our going to sea.

But our first voyage being only to coast the island, we resolved to venture, whatever the hazard or consequence of it might be; and in order to preserve as much fresh water as we could, our carpenter made a well thwart the middle of one of our canoes, which he separated from the other parts of the canoe, so as to make it tight to hold the water, and covered so as we might step upon it; and this was so large that it held near a hogshead of water very well. I cannot better describe this well than by the same kind which the small fisher-boats in England have to preserve their fish alive in; only that this, instead of having holes to let the salt water in, was made sound every way to keep it out; and it was the first invention, I believe, of its kind, for such an use. But necessity is a spur to ingenuity, and the mother of invention.

It wanted but a little consultation to resolve now upon our voyage. The first design was only to coast it round the island, as well to see if we could seize upon any vessel fit to embark ourselves in, as also to take hold of any opportunity which might present for our passing over to the main; and, therefore, our resolution was to go on the inside, or west shore of the island, where at least at one point, the land stretching a great way to the north-west, the distance is not extraordinary great from the island to the coast of Africa.

Such a voyage, and with such a desperate crew, I believe was never made; for it is certain we took the worst side of the island to look for any shipping, especially for shipping of other nations, this being quite out of the way; however, we put to sea, after taking all our provisions and ammunitions, bag and baggage, on board. We had made both mast and sail for our two large periaguas, and the other we paddled along as well as we could; but when a gale sprung up, we took her in tow.

CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE—TRADE WITH THE NATIVES—THEIR KINDNESS—WE LAND, AND ENCAMP AT POINT DESPERATION—FURTHER PROCEEDINGS AND ADVENTURES ON THE ISLAND—WE DISCOVER THE WRECK OF A DUTCH VESSEL AT SEA—AFTER FOUR MONTHS' LABOUR, WE CONSTRUCT A VESSEL FIT TO CARRY US OFF—SAIL FOR THE MAINLAND OF AFRICA, AND REACH IT IN SAFETY.

We sailed merrily forward for several days, meeting with nothing to interrupt us. We saw several of the natives in small canoes, catching fish, and sometimes we endeavoured to come near enough to speak with them; but they were always shy, and afraid of us, making in for the shore as soon as we attempted it, till one of our compamy remembered the signal of friendship which the natives made us from the south part of the island—viz., of setting up a long pole, and put us in mind that perhaps it was the same thing to them as a flag of truce was to us: so we resolved to try it; and, accordingly, the next time we saw any of their fishing-boats at sea, we put up a pole in our canoe that had no sail, and rowed towards them. As soon as they saw the pole, they

stayed for us, and, as we came nearer, paddled towards us. When they came to us, they showed themselves very much pleased, and gave us some large fish, of which we did not know the names, but they were very good. It was our misfortune still that we had nothing to give them in return; but our artist, of whom I spoke before, gave them two little thin plates of silver, beaten, as I said before, out of a piece of eight; they were cut in a diamond square, longer one way than the other, and a hole punched at one of the longest corners. This they were so fond of that they made us stay till they had cast their lines and nets again, and gave us as many fish as we cared to have.

All this while we had our eyes upon their boats, viewed them very narrowly, and examined whether any of them were fit for our turn; but they were poor sorry things. Their sail was made of a large mat, only one that was of a piece of cotton stuff, fit for little, and their ropes were twisted flags of no strength; so we concluded we were better as we were, and let them alone. We went forward to the north, keeping the coast close on board for twelve days together; and having the wind at east, and E.S.E., we made very fresh way. We saw no towns on the shore, but often saw some huts by the water-side, upon the rocks, and always abundance of people about them, who we could perceive run together to stare at us.

It was as odd a voyage as ever men went: we were a little fleet of three ships, and an army of between twenty and thirty as dangerous fellows as ever they had amongst them; and, had they known what we were, they would have compounded to give us everything we desired, to be rid of us.

On the other hand, we were as miserable as nature could well make us to be; for we were upon a voyage and no voyage—we were bound somewhere and nowhere; for, though we knew what we intended to do, we did really not know what we were doing. We went forward and forward by a northerly course; and as we advanced, the heat increased, which began to be intolerable to us who were upon the water, without any covering from heat or wet; besides, we were now in the month of October, or thereabouts, in a southern latitude; and as we went every day nearer the sun, the sun came also every day nearer to us, till at last we found ourselves in the latitude of 20 degrees; and having

passed the tropic about five or six days before that, in a few days more the sun would be in the zenith, just over our heads.

Upon these considerations, we resolved to seek for a good place to go on shore again, and pitch our tents, till the heat of the weather abated. We had by this time measured half the length of the island, and were come to that part where the shore, tending away to the north-west, promised fair to make our passage over to the mainland of Africa, much shorter than we expected. But, notwithstanding that, we had good reason to believe it was about one hundred and twenty leagues.

So, the heats considered, we resolved to take harbour; besides, our provisions were exhausted, and we had not many days store left. Accordingly, putting in for the shore early in the morning, as we usually did once in three or four days, for fresh water, we sat down and considered, whether we should go on, or take up our standing there; but upon several considerations, too long to repeat here, we did not like the place, so we resolved to go on a few days longer.

After sailing on N.W. by N. with a fresh gale at S.E. about six days, we found, at a great distance, a large promontory, or cape of land, pushing out a long way into the sea; and, as we were exceeding fond of seeing what was beyond the cape, we resolved to double it before we took into harbour; so we kept on our way, the gale continuing; and yet it was four days more before we reached the cape. But it is not possible to express the discouragement and melancholy that seized us all when we came thither; for when we made the headland of the cape, we were surprised to see the shore fall away on the other side, as much as it had advanced on this side, and a great deal more; and that, in short, if we would venture over to the shore of Africa, it must be from hence; for that, if we went further, the breadth of the sea still increased, and to what breadth it might increase we knew not.

While we mused upon this discovery, we were surprised with very bad weather, and especially violent rains, with thunder and lightning, most unusually terrible to us. In this pickle we ran for the shore, and getting under the lee of the cape, ran our frigates into a little creek, where we saw the land overgrown with trees, and made all the haste

possible to get on shore, being exceeding wet, and fatigued with the heat, the thunder, lightning, and rain.

Here we thought our case was very deplorable indeed, and therefore our artist, of whom I have spoken so often, set up a great cross of wood on the hill, which was within a mile of the headland, with these words, but in the Portuguese language :—

"Point Desperation. Jesus have mercy!"

We set to work immediately to build us some huts, and so get our clothes dried; and though I was young, and had no skill in such things, yet I shall never forget the little city we built, for it was no less; and we fortified it accordingly; and the idea is so fresh in my thought, that I cannot but give a short description of it.

Our camp was on the south side of a little creek on the sea, and under the shelter of a steep hill, which lay, though on the other side of the creek, yet within a quarter of a mile of us, N.W. by N., and very happily intercepted the heat of the sun all the after part of the day. The spot we pitched on had a little fresh water brook, or a stream, running into the creek by us; and we saw cattle feeding in the plains and low ground, east and to the south of us a great way.

Here we set up twelve little huts, like soldiers' tents, but made of the boughs of trees, stuck into the ground, and bound together on the top with withies, and such other things as we could get; the creek was our defence on the north, a little brook on the west, and the south and east sides we fortified with a bank, which entirely covered our huts; and, being drawn oblique from the north-west to the south-east, made our city a triangle. Behind the bank, or line, our huts stood, having three other huts behind them at a good distance. In one of these, which was a little one, and stood further off, we put our gunpowder, and nothing else, for fear of danger; in the other, which was bigger, we drest our victuals, and put all our necessaries; and in the third, which was biggest of all, we eat our dinners, called our councils, and sat and diverted ourselves with such conversation as we had one with another, which was but indifferent truly at that time.

Our correspondence with the natives was absolutely necessary, and our artist, the cutler, having made abundance of those little diamond-cut squares of silver, with these we made shift to traffic with the black people for what we wanted; for, indeed, they were pleased wonderfully with them; and thus we got plenty of provisions. At first, and in particular, we got about fifty head of black cattle and goats, and our cook's mate took care to cure them, and dry them salt and preserve them, for our grand supply; nor was this hard to do, the salt and saltpetre being very good, and the sun excessively hot; and here we lived about four months.

The southern solstice was over, and the sun gone back towards the equinoctial, when we considered of our next adventure, which was to go over the sea of Zanquebar, as the Portuguese call it, and to land, if possible, upon the continent of Africa.

We talked with many of the natives about it, such as we could make ourselves intelligible to; but all that we could learn from them was, that there was a great land of lions beyond the sea, but that it was a great way off; we knew as well as they that it was a long way, but our people differed mightily about it: some said it was one hundred and fifty leagues, others not above one hundred. One of our men, that had a map of the world, showed us by his scale, that it was not above eighty leagues. Some said there were islands all the way to touch at; some, that there were no islands at all: for my part, I knew nothing of this matter one way or another, but heard it all without concern, whether it was near or far off; however, this we learned from an old man, who was blind, and led about by a boy, that if we stayed till the end of August, we should be sure of the wind to be fair, and the sea smooth all the voyage.

This was some encouragement; but staying again was very unwelcome news to us, because that then the sun would be returning again to the south, which was what our men were very unwilling to. At last we called a council of our whole body; their debates were too tedious to take notice of, only to note, that when it came to Captain Bob (for so they called me ever since I had taken state upon me before one of their great princes), truly I was on no side, it was not

one farthing matter to me, I told them, whether we went or stayed; I had no home, and all the world was alike to me; so I left it entirely to them to determine.

In a word, they saw plainly there was nothing to be done where we were, without shipping; that, if our business indeed was only to eat and drink, we could not find a better place in the world; but, if our business was to get away, and get home into our conntry, we could not find a worse.

I confess, I liked the country wonderfully, and even then had strange notions of coming again to live there; and I used to say to them very often, that, if I had but a ship of twenty guns, and a sloop, and both well manned, I would not desire a better place in the world to make myself as rich as a king.

But to return to the consultations they were in about going. Upon the whole, it was resolved to venture over for the main; and venture we did, madly enough indeed: for it was the wrong time of the year to undertake such a voyage in that country; for, as the winds hang easterly all the months from September to March, so they generally hang westerly all the rest of the year, and blew right in our teeth, so that, as soon as we had, with a kind of a land-breeze, stretched over about fifteen or twenty leagues, and, as I may say, just enough to lose ourselves, we found the wind set in a steady fresh gale or breeze from the sea, at west, W.S.W. or S.W. by W., and never further from the west; so that, in a word, we could make nothing of it.

On the other hand, the vessel, such as we had, would not lie close upon a wind; if so, we might have stretched away N.N.W. and have met with a great many islands in our way, as we found afterwards; but we could make nothing of it, though we tried, and by the trying had almost undone us all; for, stretching away to the north, as near the wind as we could, we had forgotten the shape and position of the island of Madagascar itself; how that we came off at the head of a promontory or point of land, that lies about the middle of the island, and that stretches out west a great way into the sea; and that now, being run a matter of forty leagues to the north, the shore of the island fell off again about two hundred miles to the east, so that we were by this time in the wide ocean, between the island and the main, and almost one hundred leagues from both.

Indeed, as the winds blew fresh at west, as before, we had a smooth sea, and we found it pretty good going before it, and so, taking our smallest canoe in tow, we stood in for the shore with all the sail we could make. This was a terrible adventure; for, if the least gust of wind had come, we had been all lost, our canoes being deep, and in no condition to make way in a high sea.

This voyage, however, held us eleven days in all; and at length, having spent most of our provisions, and every drop of water we had, we spied land, to our great joy, though at the distance of ten or eleven leagues; and as, under the land, the wind came off like a land-breeze, and blew hard against us, we were two days more before we reached the shore, having all that while excessive hot weather, and not a drop of water, or any other liquor, except some cordial waters, which one of our company had a little of left in a case of bottles.

This gave us a taste of what we should have done, if we had ventured forward with a scant wind and uncertain weather, and gave us a surfeit of our design for the main, at least until we might have some better vessels under us; so we went on shore again, and pitched our camp, as before, in as convenient a manner as we could, fortifying ourselves against any surprise; but the natives here were exceeding courteous, and much civiller than on the south part of the island; and though we could not understand what they said, or they us, yet we found means to make them understand that we were seafaring men, and strangers; and that we were in distress for want of provisions.

The first proof we had of their kindness was, that, as soon as they saw us come on shore, and begin to make our habitation, one of their captains or kings, for we knew not what to call them, came down with five or six men and some women, and brought us five goats and two young fat steers, and gave them to us for nothing; and when we went to offer them anything, the captain or the king, would not let any of them touch it, or take anything of us. About two hours after, came another king, or captain, with forty or fifty men after him; we began to be afraid of him, and laid hands upon our weapons; but he perceiving it, caused two men to go before him, carrying two long poles in their hands, which they held upright, as high as they could, which

we presently perceived was a signal of peace, and these two poles they set up afterwards, sticking them up in the ground; and when the king and his men came to these two poles, they stuck all their lances up in the ground, and came on unarmed, leaving their lances, as also their bows and arrows, behind them.

This was to satisfy us, that they were come as friends, and we were very glad to see it; for we had no mind to quarrel with them, if we could help it. The captain of this gang seeing some of our men making up their huts, and that they did it but bunglingly, he beckoned to some of his men to go and help us. Immediately fifteen or sixteen of them came and mingled among us, and went to work for us; and, indeed, they were better workmen than we were, for they run up three or four huts for us in a moment, and much handsomer done than ours.

After this they sent us milk, plaintains, pumpkins, and abundance of roots and greens that were very good, and then took their leave, and would not take anything from us that we had. One of our men offered the king or captain of these men, a dram, which he drank, and was mightily pleased with it, and held out his hand for another, which we gave him; and, in a word, after this, he hardly failed coming to us two or three times a week, always bringing us something or other: and one time sent us seven head of black cattle, some of which we cured and dried as before.

And here I cannot but remember one thing, which afterwards stood us in great stead, viz., that the flesh of their goats, and their beef also, but especially the former, when we had dried and cured it, looked red, and eat hard and firm, as dried beef in Holland; they were so pleased with it, and it was such a dainty to them, that, at any time after, they would trade with us for it, not knowing, or so much as imagining, what it was; so that, for ten or twelve pounds' weight of smoked dried beef, they would give us a whole bullock, or cow, or anything else we could desire.

Here we observed two things that were very material to us, even essentially so; first, we found they had a great deal of earthenware here, which they make use of many ways, as we did: particularly, they had long deep earthen pots, which they used to sink into the ground, to keep the water which

they drank cool and pleasant; and the other was, that they had larger canoes than their neighbours had.

By this we were prompted to inquire if they had no larger vessels than those we saw there; or if any other of the inhabitants had not such. They signified presently, that they had no larger boats than that they showed us; but that, on the other side of the island, they had larger boats, and that with decks upon them, and large sails; and this made us resolve to coast round the whole island to see them; so we prepared and victualled our canoe for the voyage, and, in a word, went to sea for the third time.

It cost us a month or six weeks' time to perform this voyage, in which time we went on shore several times for water and provisions, and found the natives always very free and courteous; but we were surprised one morning early, being at the extremity of the northernmost part of the island, when one of our men cried out, 'A sail; a sail!' we presently saw a vessel a great way out at sea: but after we had looked at it with our perspective glasses, and endeavoured all we could to make out what it was, we could not tell what to think of it; for it was neither ship, ketch, galley, galliot, or like anything that we had ever seen before: all that we could make of it was, that it went from us, standing out to sea. In a word, we soon lost sight of it, for we were in no condition to chase anything, and we never saw it again, but by all we could perceive of it, from what we saw of such things afterwards, it was some Arabian vessel, which had been trading to the coast of Mozambique, or Zanquebar, the same place where we afterwards went, as you shall hear.

Nor do I remember that the natives differed much from one another, either in stature or complexion, or in their manners, their habits, their weapons, or indeed in anything; and yet we could not perceive that they had any intelligence one with another; but they were extremely kind and civil to us on this side, as well as on the other.

We continued our voyage south for many weeks, though with several intervals of going on shore to get provisions and water. At length, coming round a point of land which lay about a league further than ordinary into the sea, we were agreeably surprised with a sight, which, no doubt, had been

as disagreeable to those concerned, as it was pleasant to us. This was the wreck of an European ship, which had been cast away upon the rocks, which in that place run a great way into the sea.

We could see plainly, at low water, a great deal of the ship lay dry; even at high water she was not entirely covered; and that at most she did not lie above a league from the shore. It will easily be believed, that our curiosity led us, the wind and weather also permitting, to go directly to her, which we did without any difficulty, and presently found that it was a Dutch-built ship, and that she could not have been very long in that condition, a great deal of the upper work of her stern remaining firm, with the mizen-mast standing. Her stern seemed to be jammed in between two ridges of the rock, and so remained fast, all the fore-part of the ship having been beaten to pieces.

We could see nothing to be gotten out of the wreck that was worth our while; but we resolved to go on shore, and stay some time thereabouts, to see if perhaps we might get any light into the story of her; and we were not without hopes that we might hear something more particular about her men, and perhaps find some of them on shore there, in the same condition that we were in, and so might increase our company.

It was a very pleasant sight to us, when coming on shore, we saw all the marks and tokens of a ship-carpenter's yard; as a launch-block and cradles, scaffolds and planks, and pieces of planks, the remains of the building a ship or vessel; and, in a word, a great many things that fairly invited us to go about the same work, and we soon came to understand, that the men belonging to the ship that was lost, had saved themselves on shore, perhaps in their boat, and had built themselves a bark or sloop, and so were gone to sea again; and inquiring of the natives which way they went, they pointed to the south and south-west, by which we could easily understand they were gone away to the Cape of Good Hope.

Nobody will imagine we could be so dull as not to gather from hence, that we might take the same method for our escape; so we resolved first in general, that we would try, if possible, to build us a boat of one kind or other, and go to sea as our fate should direct.

In order to this, our first work was to have the two car-

penters search about to see what materials the Dutchmen had left behind them that might be of use; and, in particular, they found one that was very useful, and which I was much employed about, and that was a pitch-kettle, and a little pitch in it.

When we came to set close to this work, we found it very laborious and difficult, having but few tools, no iron-work, no cordage, no sails: so that, in short, whatever we built, we were obliged to be our own smiths, rope-makers, sail-makers, and indeed to practise twenty trades that we knew little or nothing of: however, necessity was the spur to invention, and we did many things which before we thought impracticable, that is to say, in our circumstances.

After our two carpenters had resolved upon the dimensions of what they would build, they set us all to work, to go off into our boats, and split up the wreck of the old ship, and to bring away everything we could, and particularly, that, if possible, we should bring away the mizen-mast, which was left standing, which with much difficulty we effected, after above twenty days' labour of fourteen of our men.

At the same time we got out a great deal of ironwork, as bolts, spikes, nails, &c., all which our artist, of whom I have spoken already, who was now grown a very dexterous smith, made us nails and hinges for our rudder, and spikes such as we wanted.

But we wanted an anchor, and if we had had an anchor, we could not have made a cable; so we contented ourselves with making some ropes with the help of the natives, of such stuff as they made their mats of, and with these we made such a kind of cable or tow line, as was sufficient to fasten our vessel to the shore, which we contented ourselves with for that time.

To be short, we spent four months here, and worked very hard too; at the end of which time we launched our frigate, which, in a few words, had many defects, but yet, all things considered, it was as well as we could expect it to be.

In short, it was a kind of sloop, of the burthen of near eighteen or twenty tons, and had we had masts and sails, standing and running rigging, as is usual in such cases, and other conveniences, the vessel might have carried us wherever we could have had a mind to go; but of all the materials we wanted, this was the worst, viz., that we had no tar, and

but little pitch to pay the seams and secure the bottom; and though we did what we could with tallow and oil, to make a mixture, to supply that part, yet we could not bring it to answer our end fully; and when we launched her into the water, she was so leaky, and took in the water so fast, that we thought all our labour had been lost, for we had much ado to make her swim; and as for pumps, we had none, nor had we any means to make one.

But at length one of the natives, a black negro-man, showed us a tree, the wood of which being put into the fire, sends forth a liquid that is as glutinous, and almost as strong as tar, and of which, by boiling, we made a sort of stuff which served us for pitch, and this answered our end effectually; for we perfectly made our vessel sound and tight, so that we wanted no pitch or tar at all. This secret has stood me in stead, upon many occasions since that time, in the same place.

Our vessel being thus finished, out of the mizen-mast of the ship we made a very good mast to her, and fitting our sails to it as well as we could; then we made a rudder and tiller, and, in a word, everything that our present necessity called upon us for; and having victualled her, and put as much fresh water on board as we thought we wanted, or as we knew how to stow (for we were yet without casks), we put to sea with a fair wind.

We had spent near another year in these rambles, and in this piece of work; for it was now, as our men said, about the beginning of February, and the sun went from us apace, which was much to our satisfaction, for the heats were excedingly violent. The wind, as I said, was fair; for, as I have since learned, the winds generally spring up to the eastward, as the sun goes from them to the north.

Our debate now was which way we should go, and never were men so irresolute; some were for going to the east, and stretching away directly for the coast of Malabar; but others, who considered more seriously the length of that voyage, shook their heads at the proposal, knowing very well that neither our provisions (especially of water), or our vessel, were equal to such a run as that is, of near two thousand miles without any land to touch at in the way.

These men, too, had all along had a great mind to a voyage for the mainland of Africa, where they said we

should have a fair cast for our lives, and might be sure to make ourselves rich, which way soever we went, if we were but able to make our way through, whether by sea or land.

Besides, as the case stood with us, we had not much choice for our way; for, if we had resolved for the east, we were at the wrong season of the year, and must have stayed till April, or May, before we had gone to sea. At length, as we had the wind at S.E. and E.S.E., and fine promising weather, we came all into the same proposal, and resolved for the coast of Africa. Nor were we long in disputing as to our coasting the island which we were upon, for we were now upon the wrong side of the island for the voyage we intended; so we stood away to the north, and having rounded the Cape, we hauled away southward, under the lee of the island, thinking to reach the west point of land, which, as I observed before, runs out so far towards the coast of Africa, as would have shortened our run almost a hundred leagues. But when we had sailed about thirty leagues, we found the winds variable under the shore, and right against us; so we concluded to stand over directly, for then we had the wind fair, and our vessel was but very ill fitted to lie near the wind, or any way indeed but just afore it.

Having resolved upon it, therefore, we put into the shore to furnish ourselves again with fresh water, and other provisions, and about the latter end of March, with more courage than discretion, more resolution than judgment, we launched for the main coast of Africa.

As for me, I had no anxiety about it; so that we had but a view of reaching some land or other, I cared not what or where it was to be, having at this time no views of what was before me, nor much thought of what might or might not befall me; but with as little consideration as any one can be supposed to have at my age, I consented to everything that was proposed, however hazardous the thing itself, however improbable the success.

The voyage, as it was undertaken with a great deal of ignorance and desperation, so really it was not carried on with much resolution or judgment; for we knew no more of the course we were to steer than this, that it was somewhere about the west, within two or three points N. or S.; and as

we had no compass with us but a little brass pocket compass, which one of our men had, more by accident than otherwise, so we could not be very exact in our course.

However, as it pleased God, that the wind continued fair at S.E. and by E., we found that N.W. by W., which was right afore it, was as good a course for us as any we could go, and thus we went on.

The voyage was much longer than we expected; our vessel also, which had no sail that was proportioned to her, made but very little way in the sea, and sailed heavily. No great adventures indeed happened in this voyage, being out of the way of everything that could offer to divert us; and as for seeing any vessel, we had not the least occasion to hail anything in all the voyage; for we saw not one vessel, small or great, the sea we were upon being entirely out of the way of all commerce, for the people of Madagascar knew no more of the shores of Africa than we did, only that there was a country of lions, as they call it, that way.

We had been eight or nine days under sail, with a fair wind, when, to our great joy, one of our men cried out, Land! We had great reason to be glad of the discovery; for we had not water enough left for above two or three days more, though at a short allowance. However, though it was early in the morning when we discovered it, we made it near night before we reached it, the wind slackening almost to a calm, and our ship being, as I said, a very dull sailer.

We were sadly baulked upon our coming to the land, when we found that, instead of the mainland of Africa, it was only a little island, with no inhabitants upon it—at least none that we could find; nor any cattle, except a few goats, of which we killed three only. However, they served us for fresh meat, and we found very good water; and it was fifteen days more before we reached the main, which, however, at last we arrived at, and, which was most essential to us, came to it just as all our provisions were spent. Indeed, we may say they were spent first, for we had but a pint of water a day to each man for the last two days. But, to our great joy, we saw the land, though at a great distance, the evening before, and, by a pleasant gale in the night, were, by morning, within two leagues of the shore.

We never scrupled going ashore at the first place we came

at, though, had we had patience, we might have found a very fine river a little further off. However, we kept our frigate on float, by the help of two great poles, which we fastened into the ground to moor her, like piles; and the little weak ropes, which, as I said, we had made of matting, served us well enough to make the vessel fast.

As soon as we had viewed the country a little, got fresh water, and furnished ourselves with some victuals, which we found very scarce here, we went on board again with our stores. All we got for provision was some fowls that we killed, and a kind of wild buffalo, or bull, very small, but good meat. I say, having got these things on board, we resolved to sail on along the coast, which lay away N.N.E., till we found some creek or river that we might run up into the country, or some town or people; for we had reason enough to know the place was inhabited, because we several times saw fires in the night, and smoke in the day, every way at a distance from us.

CHAPTER IV.

RECEPTION OF THE NATIVES—WE DETERMINE TO TRAVEL THROUGH THE COUNTRY BY LAND—QUARREL AND BATTLE WITH THE NEGROES—WE TAKE SIXTY PRISONERS, AND MAKE THEM SERVANTS TO US IN OUR JOURNEY—I AM APPOINTED LEADER OF THE EXPEDITION, AND CHRISTENED CAPTAIN—OUR NEGRO SERVANTS PROCURE US A SUPPLY OF CATTLE.

At length we came to a very large bay, and in it several little creeks or rivers emptying themselves into the sea, and we run boldly into the first creek we came at, where, seeing some huts and wild people about them on the shore, we ran our vessel into a little cove on the north side of the creek, and held up a long pole, with a white bit of cloth on it, for a signal of peace to them. We found they understood us presently, for they came flocking to us, men, women, and children, most of them, of both sexes, stark naked. At first they stood wondering and staring at us as if we had been monsters, and as if they had been frightened; but we found they inclined to be familiar with us afterwards. The

first thing we did to try them was, we held up our hands to our mouths, as if we were to drink, signifying that we wanted water. This they understood presently, and three of their women and two boys ran away up the land, and came back in about half a quarter of an hour with several pots made of earth, pretty enough, and baked, I suppose, in the sun. These they brought us full of water, and set them down near the seashore, and there left them, going back a little, that we might fetch them, which we did.

Some time after this, they brought us roots and herbs, and some fruits which I cannot remember, and gave us; but as we had nothing to give them, we found them not so free as the people of Madagascar were. However, our cutler went to work, and, as he had saved some iron out of the wreck of the ship, he made abundance of toys, birds, dogs, pins, hooks, and rings; and we helped to file them, and make them bright for him; and when we gave them some of these, they brought us all the sort of provisions they had, such as goats, hogs, and cows, and we got victuals enough.

We were now landed upon the continent of Africa, the most desolate desert, and inhospitable country in the world, even Greenland and Nova Zembla itself not excepted; with this difference only, that even the worst part of it we found inhabited; though, taking the nature and quality of some of the inhabitants, it might have been much better to us if there had been none.

And, to add to the exclamation I am making on the nature of the place, it was here that we took one of the rashest and wildest, and most desperate resolutions that was ever taken by man, or any number of men, in the world; this was to travel over land through the heart of the country, from the coast of Mozambique, on the east ocean, to the coast of Angola or Guinea, on the western or Atlantic ocean, a continent of land at least 1800 miles; in which journey we had excessive heats to support, unpassable deserts to go over; no carriages, camels, or beasts of any kind to carry our baggage, innumerable numbers of wild and ravenous beasts to encounter with, such as lions, leopards, tigers, lizards, and elephants; we had the equinoctial line to pass under, and, consequently, were in the very centre of the torrid zone; we had nations of savages to encounter with, barbarous and brutish to the last degree; hunger and

thirst to struggle with; and, in one word, terrors enough to have daunted the stoutest hearts that ever were placed in cases of flesh and blood.

Yet, fearless of all these, we resolved to adventure, and accordingly made such preparations for our journey, as the place we were in would allow us, and such as our little experience of the country seemed to dictate to us.

It had been some time already that we had been used to tread bare-footed upon the rocks, the gravel, the grass, and the sand on the shore; but, as we found the worst thing for our feet was, the walking or travelling on the dry burning sands, within the country, so we provided ourselves with a sort of shoes, made of the skins of wild beasts, with the hair inward, and being dried in the sun, the outsides were thick and hard, and would last a great while. In short, as I called them, so I think the term very proper still, we made us gloves for our feet, and we found them very convenient and very comfortable.

We conversed with some of the natives of the country, who were friendly enough. What tongue they spoke, I do not yet pretend to know. We talked as far as we could make them understand us, not only about our provisions, but also about our undertaking; and asked them what country lay that way, pointing west with our hands. They told us but little to our purpose, only we thought, by all their discourse, that there were many great rivers; many lions and tigers, elephants, and furious wild cats (which in the end we found to be civet cats), and the like.

When we asked them if any one had ever travelled that way, they told us, Yes; some had gone to where the sun sleeps, meaning to the west; but they could not tell us who they were. When we asked for some to guide us, they shrunk up their shoulders, as Frenchmen do when they are afraid to undertake a thing. When we asked them about the lions and wild creatures, they laughed, and let us know they would do us no hurt, and directed us to a good way indeed to deal with them, and that was to make some fire, which would always fright them away; and so indeed we found it.

Upon these encouragements we resolved upon our journey, and many considerations put us upon it, which, had the thing itself been practicable, we were not so much to blame for, as

it might otherwise be supposed; I will name some of them, not to make the account too tedious.

First, we were perfectly destitute of means to work about our own deliverance any other way; we were on shore in a place perfectly remote from all European navigation; so that we could never think of being relieved, and fetched off by any of our own countrymen in that part of the world. Secondly, if we had adventured to have sailed on along the coast of Mozambique, and the desolate shores of Africa to the north, till we came to the Red Sea, all we could hope for there, was to be taken by the Arabs, and be sold for slaves to the Turks, which to all of us was little better than death. We could not build anything of a vessel that would carry us over the great Arabian sea to India, nor could we reach the Cape de Bona Speranza, the winds being too variable, and the sea in that latitude too tempestuous; but we all knew, if we could cross this continent of land, we might reach some of the great rivers that run into the Atlantic ocean; and that, on the banks of any of those rivers, we might there build us canoes, which would carry us down, if it were thousands of miles; so that we could want nothing but food, of which we were assured we might kill sufficient with our guns; and, to add to the satisfaction of our deliverance, we concluded we might every one of us get a quantity of gold, which, if we came safe, would infinitely recompense us for our toil.

I cannot say, that, in all our consultations, I ever began to enter into the weight and merit of any enterprise we went upon till now. My view before was, as I thought, very good, viz., that we should get into the Arabian gulf, or the mouth of the Red Sea; and waiting for some vessel passing or repassing there, of which there is plenty, have seized upon the first we came at by force; and not only have enriched ourselves with her cargo, but have carried ourselves to what part of the world we had pleased: but when they came to talk to me of a march of two or three thousand miles on foot, of wandering in deserts, among lions and tigers, I confess my blood ran chill; and I used all the arguments I could to persuade them against it.

But they were all positive, and I might as well have held my tongue; so I submitted, and told them I would keep to our first law, to be governed by the majority, and we resolved

upon our journey. The first thing we did was to take an observation, and see whereabouts in the world we were, which we did, and found we were in the lattitude of 12 degrees 35 minutes south of the line. The next thing was to look on the charts, and see the coast of the country we aimed at, which we found to be from 8 to 11 degrees south latitude, if we went for the coast of Angolo, or in 12 to 19 degrees north latitude, if we made for the river Nigre, and the coast of Guinea.

Our aim was for the coast of Angola, which, by the charts we had, lying very near the same latitude we were then in, our course thither was due west; and, as we were assured we should meet with rivers, we doubted not, but that by their help we might ease our journey, especially if we could find means to cross the great lake, or inland of the sea, which the natives call Coalmucoa, out of which it is said the river Nile has its source or beginning; but we reckoned without our host, as you will see in the sequel of our story.

The next thing we had to consider was, how to carry our baggage, which we were first of all determined not to travel without; neither indeed was it possible for us to do so, for even our ammunition, which was absolutely necessary to us, and on which our subsistence, I mean for food, as well as our defence against wild beasts and wild men, depended: I say, even our ammunition was a load too heavy for us to carry, in a country where the heat was such, that we should be load enough for ourselves.

We inquired in the country, and found there was no beast of burthen known among them; that is to say, neither horses or mules, or asses, camels or dromedaries; the only creature they had, was a kind of buffalo, or tame bull, such a one as we had killed; and that some of these they had brought so to their hand, that they taught them to go and come with their voices, as they called them to them, or sent them from them; that they made them carry burthens; and, particularly, that they would swim over rivers and lakes upon them, the creatures swimming very high and strong in the water.

But we understood nothing of the management or guiding such a creature, or how to bind a burthen upon them, and this last part of our consultation puzzled us extremely: at last I proposed a method for them, which, after some consideration, they found very convenient; and this was to quarrel with some of the negro natives, take ten or twelve

of them prisoners, and, binding them as slaves, cause them to travel with us, and make them carry our baggage; which I alleged would be convenient and useful many ways, as well to show us the way, as to converse with other natives for us.

This counsel was not accepted at first, but the natives soon gave them reason to approve it; and also gave them an opportunity to put it in practice; for, as our little traffic with the natives was hitherto upon the faith of their first kindness, we found some knavery among them at last; for having bought some cattle of them for our toys, which, as I said, our cutler had contrived, one of our men differing with his chapman, truly they huffed him in their manner, and, keeping the things he had offered them for the cattle, made their fellows drive away the cattle before his face, and laugh at him; our man crying out loud of this violence, and calling to some of us who were not far off, the negro he was dealing with threw a lance at him, which came so true, that, if he had not with great agility jumped aside, and held up his hand also to turn the lance as it came, it had struck through his body; and, as it was, it wounded him in the arm: at which the man enraged, took up his fusee, and shot the negro through the heart.

The others that were near him, and all those that were with us at a distance, were so terribly frightened; first, at the flash of fire; secondly, at the noise; and thirdly, at seeing their countrymen killed, that they stood like men stupid and amazed, at first, for some time; but, after they were a little recovered from their fright, one of them, at a good distance from us, set up a sudden screaming noise, which, it seems, is the noise they make when they go to fight; and all the rest, understanding what he meant, answered him, and run together to the place where he was, and we not knowing what it meant, stood still, looking upon one another like a parcel of fools.

But we were presently undeceived; for, in two or three minutes more, we heard the screaming roaring noise go on from one place to another, through all their little towns; nay, even over the creek to the other side; and, on a sudden, we saw a naked multitude running from all parts to the place where the first man began it, as to a rendezvous; and, in less than an hour, I believe there was near five hundred

of them gotten together, armed some with bows and arrows, but most with lances, which they threw at a good distance, so nicely, that they will strike a bird flying.

We had but a very little time for consultation, for the multitude was increasing every moment; and I verily believe, if we had stayed long, they would have been ten thousand together in a little time. We had nothing to do, therefore, but to fly to our ship or bark, where indeed we could have defended ourselves very well, or to advance and try what a volley or two of small shot would do for us.

We resolved immediately upon the latter, depending upon it, that the fire and terror of our shot would soon put them to flight; so we drew up all in a line, and marched boldly up to them; they stood ready to meet us, depending, I suppose, to destroy us all with their lances; we halted, and, standing at a good distance from one another, to stretch our line as far as we could, we gave them a salute with our shot, which, besides what we wounded that we knew not of, knocked sixteen of them down upon the spot, and three more were so lamed, that they fell about twenty or thirty yards from them.

As soon as we had fired, they set up the horridest yell, or howling, partly raised by those that were wounded, and partly by those that pitied and condoled the bodies they saw lie dead, that I never heard anything like it before or since.

We stood stock still after we had fired, to load our guns again, and finding they did not stir from the place, we fired among them again; we killed about nine of them at the second fire; but as they did not stand so thick as before, all our men did not fire, seven of us being ordered to reserve our charge, and to advance as soon as the other had fired, while the rest loaded again; of which I shall speak again presently.

As soon as we had fired the second volley, we shouted as loud as we could, and the seven men advanced upon them, and, coming about twenty yards nearer, fired again, and those that were behind having loaded again with all expedition, followed; but when they saw us advance, they ran screaming away as if they were bewitched.

When we came up to the field of battle, we saw a great number of bodies lying upon the ground, many more than we could suppose were killed or wounded; nay more than

we had bullets in our pieces when we fired; and we could not tell what to make of it; but at length we found how it was, viz., that they were frightened out of all manner of sense; nay, I do believe several of those that were really dead, were frightened to death, and had no wound about them.

Of those that were thus frightened, as I have said, several of them, as they recovered themselves, came and worshipped us, taking us for gods or devils, I know not which, nor did it much matter to us—some kneeling, some throwing themselves flat on the ground, made a thousand antic gestures, but all with tokens of the most profound submission. It presently came into my head that we might now, by the law of arms, take as many prisoners as we would, and make them travel with us, and carry our baggage. As soon as I proposed it, our men were all of my mind; and, accordingly, we secured about sixty lusty young fellows, and let them know they must go with us, which they seemed very willing to do. But the next question we had among ourselves was, how we should do to trust them, for we found the people not like those of Madagascar, but fierce, revengeful, and treacherous, for which reason we were sure that we should have no service from them but that of mere slaves—no subjection that would continue any longer than the fear of us was upon them, nor any labour but by violence.

Before I go any farther, I must hint to the reader that, from this time forward, I began to enter a little more seriously into the circumstance I was in, and concerned myself more in the conduct of our affairs; for, though my comrades were all older men, yet I began to find them void of counsel, or, as I now call it, presence of mind, when they came to the execution of anything. The first occasion I took to observe this was in their late engagement with the natives, when, though they had taken a good resolution to attack them, and fire upon them, yet, when they had fired the first time, and found that the negroes did not run, as they expected, their hearts began to fail, and I am persuaded, if their bark had been near hand, they would every man have run away.

Upon this occasion I began to take upon me a little to hearten them up, and to call upon them to load again, and give them another volley, telling them that I would engage

if they would be ruled by me, I'd make the negroes run fast enough. I found this heartened them, and, therefore, when they fired a second time, I desired them to reserve some of their shot to an attempt by itself, as I mentioned above.

Having fired a second time, I was indeed forced to command, as I may call it. Now, seigniors, said I, let us give them a cheer. So I opened my throat, and shouted three times, as our English sailors do on like occasions. And now follow me, said I, to the seven that had not fired, and I'll warrant you we will make work with them; and so it proved indeed, for, as soon as they saw us coming, away they ran, as above.

From this day forward, they would call me nothing but Seignior Capitanio; but I told them I would not be called Seignior. Well, then, said the gunner, who spoke good English, you shall be called Captain Bob; and so they gave me my title ever after.

Nothing is more certain of the Portuguese than this: take them nationally or personally, if they are animated and heartened by anybody, to go before, and encourage them by example, they will behave well enough; but if they have nothing but their own measures to follow, they sink immediately. These men had certainly fled from a parcel of naked savages, though, even by flying, they could not have saved their lives, if I had not shouted and hallooed, and rather made sport with the thing than a fight, to keep up their courage.

Nor was there less need of it upon several occasions hereafter; and I do confess I have often wondered how a number of men, who, when they came to the extremity, were so ill supported by their own spirit, had at first courage to propose and to undertake the most desperate and impracticable attempt that ever men went about in the world.

There were indeed two or three indefatigable men among them, by whose courage and industry all the rest were upheld; and indeed these two or three were the managers of them from the beginning—that was the gunner and that cutler whom I call the artist, and the third, who was pretty well, though not like either of them, was one of the carpenters. These indeed were the life and soul of all the rest, and it was to their courage that all the rest owed the resolution they showed upon any occasion. But when those

saw me take a little upon me, as above, they embraced me, and treated me with particular affection ever after.

This gunner was an excellent mathematician, a good scholar, and a complete sailor; and it was in conversing intimately with him, that I learned afterwards the grounds of what knowledge I have since had in all the sciences useful for navigation, and particularly in the geographical part of knowledge.

Even in our conversation, finding me eager to understand and learn, he laid the foundation of a general knowledge of things in my mind, gave me just ideas of the form of the earth and of the sea, the situation of countries, the course of rivers, the doctrine of the spheres, the motion of the stars; and, in a word, taught me a kind of system of astronomy, which I afterwards improved.

In an especial manner, he filled my head with aspiring thoughts, and with an earnest desire after learning everything that could be taught me; convincing me, that nothing could qualify me for great undertakings, but a degree of learning superior to what was usual in the race of seamen; he told me, that to be ignorant, was to be certain of a mean station in the world, but that knowledge was the first step to preferment. He was always flattering me with my capacity to learn; and though that fed my pride, yet, on the other hand, as I had a secret ambition, which just at that time fed itself in my mind, it prompted in me an insatiable thirst after learning in general, and I resolved, if ever I came back to Europe, and had anything left to purchase it, I would make myself master of all the parts of learning needful to the making of me a complete sailor; but I was not so just to myself afterwards, as to do it when I had an opportunity.

But to return to our business: the gunner, when he saw the service I had done in the fight, and heard my proposal for keeping a number of prisoners for our march, and for carrying our baggage, turns to me before them all. Captain Bob, says he, I think you must be our leader, for all the success of this enterprise is owing to you. No, no, said I, do not compliment me; you shall be our Seignior Capitanio, you shall be general; I am too young for it. So, in short, we all agreed he should be our leader; but he would not accept of it alone, but would have me joined with him; and all the rest agreeing, I was obliged to comply.

The first piece of service they put me upon in this new command, was as difficult as any they could think of, and that was to manage the prisoners; which, however, I cheerfully undertook, as you shall hear presently; but the immediate consultation was yet of more consequence; and that was, first, which way we should go; and secondly, how to furnish ourselves for the voyage with provisions.

There was, among the prisoners, one tall, well-shaped, handsome fellow, to whom the rest seemed to pay great respect, and wno, as we understood afterwards, was the son of one of their kings; his father was, as it seems, killed at our first volley, and he wounded with a shot in his arm, and with another just on one of his hips or haunches. The shot in his haunch being in a fleshly part, bled much, and he was half dead with the loss of blood. As to the shot in his arm, it had broke his wrist, and he was by both these wounds quite disabled, so that we were once going to turn him away, and let him die; and, if we had, he would have died indeed in a few days more; but as I found the man had some respect showed him, it presently occurred to my thoughts, that we might bring him to be useful to us, and perhaps make him a kind of commander over them. So I caused our surgeon to take him in hand, and gave the poor wretch good words, that is to say, I spoke to him as well as I could, by signs, to make him understand that we would make him well again.

This created a new awe in their minds of us, believing, that, as we could kill at a distance by something invisible to them (for so our shot was, to be sure), so we could make them well again too. Upon this the young prince (for so we called him afterwards) called six or seven of the savages to him, and said something to them; what it was we knew not, but immediately all the seven came to me, and kneeled down to me, holding up their hands, and making signs of entreaty, pointing to the place where one of those lay whom we had killed.

It was a long time before I or any of us could understand them; but one of them ran and lifted up a dead man, pointing to his wound, which was in his eyes, for he was shot into the head at one of his eyes. Then another pointed to the surgeon, and at last we found it out, that the meaning

was, that he should heal the prince's father too, who was dead, being shot through the head, as above.

We presently took the hint, and would not say we could not do it, but let them know, the men that were killed were those that had first fallen upon us, and provoked us, and we would by no means make them alive again; and that, if any other did so, we would kill them too, and never let them live any more; but that, if he (the prince) would be willing to go with us, and do as we should direct him, we would not let him die, and would make his arm well. Upon this, he bid his men go and fetch a long stick or staff, and lay on the ground. When they brought it, we saw it was an arrow; he took it with his left hand (for his other was lame with the wound), and, pointing up at the sun, broke the arrow in two, and set the point against his breast, and then gave it to me. This was, as I understood afterwards, wishing the sun, whom they worship, might shoot him into the breast, with an arrow, if ever he failed to be my friend; and giving the point of the arrow to me, was to be a testimony that I was the man he had sworn to; and never was a Christian more punctual to an oath than he was to this, for he was a sworn servant to us for many a weary month after that.

When I brought him to the surgeon, he immediately dressed the wound in his haunch or buttock, and found the bullet had only grazed upon the flesh, and passed, as it were, by it, but it was not lodged in the part; so that it was soon healed and well again; but as to his arm, he found one of the bones broken, which are in the fore-part from the wrist to the elbow; and this he set, and splintered it up, and bound his arm in a sling, hanging it about his neck, and making signs to him that he should not stir it; which he was so strict an observer of, that he set him down, and never moved one way or other, but as the surgeon gave him leave.

I took a great deal of pains to acquaint this negro what we intended to do, and what use we intended to make of his men; and particularly to teach him the meaning of what we said, especially to teach him some words, such as *yes* and *no*, and what they meant; and to inure him to our way of talking; and he was very willing and apt to learn anything I taught him.

It was easy to let him see that we intended to carry our

provision with us from the first day; but he made signs to us, to tell us we need not, for that we should find provision enough everywhere for forty days. It was very difficult for us to understand how he expressed forty; for he knew no figures, but some words they used to one another that they understood it by. At last one of the negroes, by his order, laid forty little stones one by another, to show us how many days we should travel, and find provisions sufficient.

Then I showed him our baggage, which was heavy, particularly our powder, shot, lead, iron, carpenters' tools, seamens' instruments, cases of bottles, and other lumber. He took some of the things up in his hand to feel the weight, and shook his head at them; so I told our people they must resolve to divide their things into small parcels, and make them portable; and accordingly they did so, by which means we were fain to leave all our chests behind us, which were eleven in number.

Then he made signs to us, that he would procure some buffaloes, or young bulls, as I called them, to carry things for us, and made signs too, that if we were weary, we might be carried too; but that we slighted, only were willing to have the creatures, because, at last, when they could serve us no further for carriage, we might eat them all up if we had any occasion for them.

I then carried him to our bark, and showed him what things we had here; he seemed amazed at the sight of our bark, having never seen anything of that kind before, for their boats are most wretched things, such as I never saw before, having no head or stern, and being made only of the skins of goats, sewed together, with dried guts of goats and sheep, and done over with a kind of slimy stuff like rosin and oil, but of a most nauseous, odious smell; and they are poor miserable things for boats, the worst that any part of the world ever saw; a canoe is an excellent contrivance compared to them.

But to return to our boat: we carried our new prince into it, and helped him over the side, because of his lameness. We made signs to him, that his men must carry our goods for us, and showed him what we had; he answered, *Ce Seignior*, or, Yes, sir (for we had taught him that word, and the meaning of it), and taking up a bundle, he made signs to

us, that when his arm was well, he would carry some for us.

I made signs again to tell him, that if he would make his men carry them, we would not let him carry anything. We had secured all the prisoners in a narrow place, where we had bound them with mat cords, and set up stakes like a palisado round them: so, when we carried the prince on shore, we went with him to them, and made signs to him, to ask them if they were willing to go with us to the country of lions. Accordingly, he made a long speech to them, and we could understand by it, that he told them, if they were willing, they must say, *Ce Seignior*, telling them what it signified. They immediately answered, *Ce Seignior*, and clapped their hands, looking up to the sun, which, the prince signified to us, was swearing to be faithful. But as soon as they had said so, one of them made a long speech to the prince; and in it, we perceived by his gestures, which were very antic, that they desired something from us, and that they were in great concern about it. So I asked him, as well as I could, what it was they desired of us; he told us by signs, that they desired we should clap our hands to the sun (that was to swear) that we would not kill them, that we would give them *Chiaruck*, that is to say, bread, would not starve them, and would not let the lions eat them. I told them we would promise all that; then he pointed to the sun, and clapped his hands, signing to me, that I should do so too, which I did; at which all the prisoners fell flat on the ground, and rising up again, made the oddest, wildest cries that ever I heard.

I think it was the first time in my life that ever any religious thought affected me; but I could not refrain some reflections, and almost tears, in considering how happy it was, that I was not born among such creatures as these, and was not so stupidly ignorant and barbarous. But this soon went off again, and I was not troubled again with any qualms of that sort for a long time after.

When this ceremony was over, our concern was to get some provisions, as well for the present subsistence of our prisoners as of ourselves; and making signs to our prince that we were thinking upon that subject, he made signs to me, that, if I would let one of the prisoners go to his town he should bring provisions, and should bring some beasts to carry our baggage. I seemed loath to trust him, and sup-

posing that he would run away, he made great signs of fidelity, and with his own hands tied a rope about his neck, offering me one end of it, intimating that I should hang him if the man did not come again. So I consented, and he gave him abundance of instructions, and sent him away, pointing to the light of the sun, which it seems was to tell him at what time he must be back.

The fellow ran as if he was mad, and held it till he was quite out of sight, by which I supposed he had a great way to go. The next morning, about two hours before the time appointed, the black prince, for so I always called him, beckoning with his hand to me, and hallooing after his manner, desired me to come to him, which I did, when pointing to a little hill about two miles off, I saw plainly a little drove of cattle, and several people with them; those he told me by signs were the man he had sent, and several more with him, and cattle for us.

Accordingly, by the time appointed, he came quite to our huts, and brought with him a great many cows, young runts, about sixteen goats, and four young bulls, taught to carry burthens.

CHAPTER V.

WE SET OUT ON OUR MARCH—GREAT USE OF THE BULLS OF THE COUNTRY, AS BEASTS OF BURTHEN—MANNER OF SAILING TWO HUNDRED MILES, IN A GREAT RIVER, UP THE COUNTRY—WE ARE STOPPED BY A PRODIGIOUS CATARACT—OUR GUNNER SHOOTS A FINE LEOPARD, TO THE GREAT TERROR AND ASTONISHMENT OF OUR NEGROES—MANNER OF PROCEEDING AFTER LEAVING OUR BARK—DANGEROUS ENCOUNTER WITH SAVAGES.

This was a supply of provisions sufficient; as for bread, we were obliged to shift with some roots which we had made use of before. We then began to consider of making some large bags like the soldiers' knapsacks, for their men to carry our baggage in, and to make it easy to them; and the goats being killed, I ordered the skins to be spread in the sun, and they were as dry in two days as could be desired; so we found means to make such little bags as we wanted, and be-

gan to divide our baggage into them: when the black prince found what they were for, and how easy they were of carriage when we put them on, he smiled a little, and sent away the man again to fetch skins, and he brought two natives more with him, all loaded with skins better cured than ours, and of other kinds, such as we could not tell what names to give them.

These two men brought the black prince two lances, of the sort they use in their fights, but finer than ordinary, being made of black smooth wood, as fine as ebony, and headed at the point with the end of a long tooth of some creature, we could not tell of what creature; the head was so firm put on, and the tooth so strong, though no bigger than my thumb, and sharp at the end, that I never saw anything like it in any place in the world.

The prince would not take them till I gave him leave, but made signs that they should give them to me: however, I gave him leave to take them himself, for I saw evident signs of an honourable just principle in him.

We now prepared for our march, when the prince coming to me, and pointing towards the several quarters of the world, made signs to know which way we intended to go; and when I showed him, pointing to the west, he presently let me know there was a great river a little further to the north, which was able to carry our bark many leagues into the country due west. I presently took the hint, and inquired for the mouth of the river, which I understood by him was above a day's march, and, by our estimation, we found it about seven leagues further. I take this to be the great river marked by our chart-makers, at the northmost part of the coast of Mozambique, and called there Quilloa.

Consulting thus with ourselves, we resolved to take the prince, and as many of the prisoners as we could stow in our frigate, and go about by the bay into the river; and that eight of us, with our arms, should march by land, to meet them on the river side; for the prince carrying us to a rising ground, had showed us the river very plain, a great way up the country; and in one place it was not above six miles to it.

It was my lot to march by land, and be captain of the whole caravan. I had eight of our men with me, and seven and thirty of our prisoners without any baggage, for all our

luggage was yet on board. We drove the young bulls with us; nothing was ever so tame, so willing to work, or carry anything. The negroes would ride upon them four at a time, and they would go very willingly: they would eat out of our hand, lick our feet, and were as tractable as a dog.

We drove with us six or seven cows for food: but our negroes knew nothing of curing the flesh by salting and drying it, till we showed them the way, and then they were mighty willing to do so as long as we had any salt to do it with, and to carry salt a great way too, after we found we should have no more.

It was an easy march to the river side for us that went by land, and we came thither in a piece of a day, being, as above, no more than six English miles; whereas it was no less than five days before they came to us by water, the wind in the bay having failed them, and the way, by reason of a great turn or reach in the river, being above fifty miles about.

We spent this time, in a thing which the two strangers who brought the prince the two lances, put into the head of the prisoners, viz., to make bottles of the goats' skins to carry fresh water in, which it seems they knew we should come to want; and the men did it so dexterously, having dried skins fetched them by those two men, that before our vessel came up, they had every man a pouch like a bladder, to carry fresh water in, hanging over their shoulder by a thong made of other skins, about three inches broad, like the sling of a fusee.

Our prince, to assure us of the fidelity of the men in this march, had ordered them to be tied two and two by the wrist, as we handcuff prisoners in England; and made them so sensible of the reasonableness of it, that he made them do it themselves, appointing four of them to bind the rest; but we found them so honest, and particularly so obedient to him, that after we were gotten a little further from their own country, we set them at liberty, though, when he came to us, he would have them tied again, and they continued so for a good while.

All the country on the bank of the river was a high land, no marshy swampy ground in it; the verdure good, and abundance of cattle feeding upon it wherever we went, or which way soever we looked; there was not much wood, indeed, at least not near us; but further up we saw oak, cedar, and pine trees, some of which were very large.

The river was a fair open channel about as broad as the Thames, below Gravesend, and a strong tide of flood, which we found held us about sixty miles, the channel deep; nor did we find any want of water for a great way. In short, we went merrily up the river with the flood and the wind blowing still fresh at E. and E.N.E.; we stemmed the ebb easily also, especially while the river continued broad and deep; but when we came past the swelling of the tide, and had the natural current of the river to go against, we found it too strong for us, and began to think of quitting our bark: but the prince would by no means agree to that, for, finding we had on board pretty good store of roping made of mats and flags, which I described before, he ordered all the prisoners which were on shore to come and take hold of those ropes, and tow us along by the shore side; and as we hoisted our sail too, to ease them, the men ran along with us at a very great rate.

In this manner the river carried us up, by our computation, near two hundred miles, and then it narrowed apace, and was not above as broad as the Thames is at Windsor, or thereabouts; and after another day, we came to a great waterfall or cataract, enough to frighten us, for I believe the whole body of water fell at once perpendicularly down a precipice above sixty feet high, which made noise enough to deprive men of their hearing, and we heard it above ten miles before we came to it.

Here we were at a full stop, and now our prisoners went first on shore; they had worked very hard, and very cheerfully, relieving one another, those that were weary being taken into the bark. Had we had canoes, or any boats which might have been carried by men's strength, we might have gone two hundred miles more up this river in small boats; but our great boat could go no further.

All this way the country looked green and pleasant, and was full of cattle, and some people we saw, though not many; but this we observed now, that the people did no more understand our prisoners here than we could understand them, being, it seems, of different nations, and of different speech. We had yet seen no wild beasts, or at least none that came very near us, except two days before we came at the waterfall, when we saw three of the most beautiful leopards that ever were seen, standing upon the

bank of the river on the north side, our prisoners being all on the other side of the water. Our gunner espied them first, and ran to fetch his gun, putting a ball extraordinary in it; and coming to me, Now, Captain Bob, says he, where is your prince? So I called him out. Now, says he, tell your men not to be afraid; tell them they shall see that thing in his hand speak in fire to one of those beasts, and make it kill itself.

The poor negroes looked as if they had been all going to be killed, notwithstanding what their prince said to them, and stood staring to expect the issue, when on a sudden the gunner fired; and, as he was a very good marksman, he shot the creature with two slugs just in the head. As soon as the leopard felt herself struck, she reared up on her two hind-legs, bolt upright, and throwing her fore-paws about in the air, fell backward, growling and struggling, and immediately died; the other two, frightened with the fire and the noise, fled, and were out of sight in an instant.

But the two frightened leopards were not in half the consternation that our prisoners were: four or five of them fell down as if they had been shot, several others fell on their knees, and lifted up their hands to us—whether to worship us or pray us not to kill them we did not know; but we made signs to their prince to encourage them, which he did, but it was with much ado that he brought them to their sense. Nay, the prince, notwithstanding all that was said to prepare him for it, yet, when the piece went off, he gave a start as if he would have leaped into the river.

When we saw the creature killed, I had a great mind to have the skin of her, and made signs to the prince that he should send some of his men over to take the skin off. As soon as he spoke but a word, four of them that offered themselves were untied, and immediately they jumped into the river, and swam over, and went to work with him. The prince, having a knife that we gave him, made four wooden knives so clever that I never saw anything like them in my life; and in less than an hour's time they brought me the skin of the leopard, which was a monstrous great one, for it was from the ears to the tail about seven feet, and near five feet broad on the back, and most admirably spotted all over. The skin of this leopard I brought to London many years after.

We were now all upon a level as to our travelling, being unshipped, for our bark would swim no further, and she was too heavy to carry on our backs; but, as we found the course of the river went a great way further, we consulted our carpenters, whether we could not pull the bark in pieces, and make us three or four small boats to go on with. They told us we might do so, but it would be very long a-doing, and that, when we had done, we had neither pitch nor tar to make them sound, to keep the water out, or nails to fasten the plank; but one of them told us that, as soon as he could come at any large tree near the river, he would make us a canoe or two in a quarter of the time, and which would serve us as well for all the uses we could have any occasion for as a boat, and such that, if we came to any waterfalls, we might take them up, and carry them for a mile or two by land upon our shoulders.

Upon this we gave over the thoughts of our frigate, and hauling her into a little cove or inlet, where a small brook came into the main river, we laid her up for those that came next, and marched forward. We spent indeed two days dividing our baggage, and loading our tame buffaloes and our negroes: our powder and shot, which was the thing we were most careful of, we ordered thus: first, the powder we divided into little leather bags, that is to say, bags of dried skins with the hair inward, that the powder might not grow damp; and then we put those bags into other bags made of bullocks' skins, very thick and hard, with the hair outward, that no wet might come in; and this succeeded so well, that in the greatest rains we had, whereof some were very violent and very long, we always kept our powder dry. Besides these bags, which held our chief magazine, we divided to every one a quarter of a pound of powder, and half a pound of shot, to carry always about us; which, as it was enough for our present use, so we were willing to have no weight to carry more than was absolutely necessary, because of the heat.

We kept still on the bank of the river, and for that reason had but very little communication with the people of the country; for, having also our bark stored with plenty of provisions, we had no occasion to look abroad for a supply; but now when we came to march on foot, we were obliged often to seek out for food. The first place we came to on the

river, that gave us any stop, was a little negro town, containing about fifty huts, and there appeared about four hundred people, for they all came out to see us and wonder at us. When our negroes appeared, the inhabitants began to fly to arms, thinking there had been enemies coming upon them; but our negroes, though they could not speak their language, made signs to them, that they had no weapons, and were tied two and two together as captives; and that there were people behind, who came from the sun, and that could kill them all, and make them alive again, if they pleased; but that they would do them no hurt, and came with peace. As soon as they understood this, they laid down their lances, and bows and arrows, and came and stuck twelve large stakes in the ground, as a token of peace, bowing themselves to us in token of submission. But as soon as they saw white men with beards, that is to say moustaches, they ran screaming away, as in a fright.

We kept at a distance from them, not to be too familiar; and when we did appear, it was but two or three of us at a time. But our prisoners made them understand that we required some provisions of them; so they brought us some black cattle, for they have abundance of cows and buffaloes all over that side of the country, as also great numbers of deer. Our cutler, who had now a great stock of things of his handiwork, gave them some little knick-knacks, as plates of silver and of iron, cut diamond fashion, and cut into hearts and into rings, and they were mightily pleased. They also brought several fruits and roots, which we did not understand, but our negroes fed heartily on them, and after we had seen them eat them, we did so too.

Having stocked ourselves here with flesh and roots as much as we could well carry, we divided the burthens among our negroes, appointing about thirty to forty pounds' weight to a man, which we thought indeed was load enough in a hot country; and the negroes did not at all repine at it, but would sometimes help one another when they began to be weary, which did happen now and then, though not often; besides, as most of their luggage was our provision, it lightened every day, like Æsop's basket of bread, till we came to get a recruit. —Note, when we loaded them, we untied their hands, and tied them two and two together by one foot. The third day of our march from this place, our chief carpenter desired us

halt, and set up some huts, for he had found out some trees that he liked, and resolved to make us some canoes; for, as he told me, he knew we should have marching enough on foot, after we left the river, and he was resolved to go no further by land than needs must.

We had no sooner given orders for our little camp, and given leave to our negroes to lay down their loads, but they fell to work to build our huts; and though they were tied as above, yet they did it so nimbly as surprised us. Here we set some of the negroes quite at liberty, that is to say, without tying them, having the prince's word passed for their fidelity; and some of these were ordered to help the carpenters. which they did very handily, with a little direction, and others were sent to see whether they could get any provision near hand; but instead of provisions, three of them came in with two bows and arrows, and five lances. They could not easily make us understand how they came by them, only that they had surprised some negro women, who were in some huts, the men being from home, and they had found the lances and bows in the huts or houses, the women and children flying away at the sight of them, as from robbers. We seemed very angry at them, and made the prince ask them if they had not killed any of the women or children, making them believe that, if they had killed anybody, we would make them kill themselves too; but they protested their innocence, so we excused them. Then they brought us the bows and arrows and lances; but, at a motion of their black prince, we gave them back the bows and arrows, and gave them leave to go out to see what they could kill for food; and here we gave them the laws of arms, viz., that, if any men appeared to assault them or shoot at them, to offer any violence to them, they might kill them; but that they should not offer to kill or hurt any that offered them peace, or laid down their weapons, nor any women or children, upon any occasion whatsoever. These were our articles of war.

These two fellows had not been gone out above three or four hours, but one of them came running to us without his bows and arrows, hallooing and whooping a great while before he came at us, Okoamo, Okoamo, which, it seems, was Help, Help.—The rest of the negroes rose up in a hurry, and by twos, as they could, ran forward towards their fellows, to know what the matter was. As for me, I did not under-

stand it, nor any of our people; the prince looked as if some thing unlucky had fallen out, and some of our men took up their arms to be ready on occasion. But the negroes soon discovered the thing; for we saw four of them presently after coming along with a great load of meat upon their backs. The case was, that the two who went out with their bows and arrows, meeting with a great herd of deer in the plain, had been so nimble as to shoot three of them; and then one of them came running to us for help to fetch them away. This was the first venison we had met with upon all our march, and we feasted upon it very plentifully; and this was the first time we began to prevail with our prince to eat his meat dressed our way; after which, his men were prevailed with by his example, but before that, they ate most of the flesh they had, quite raw.

We wished now we had brought some bows and arrows out with us, which we might have done; and we began to have so much confidence in our negroes, and to be so familiar with them, that we oftentimes let them go, or the greatest part of them, untied, being well assured they would not leave us, and that they did not know what course to take without us; but one thing we resolved not to trust them with, and that was the charging our guns; but they always believed our guns had some heavenly power in them, that would send forth fire and smoke, and speak with a dreadful noise, and kill at a distance whenever we bid them.

In about eight days we finished three canoes, and in them we embarked our white men, and our baggage, with our prince, and some of the prisoners. We also found it needful to keep some of ourselves always on shore, not only to manage the negroes, but to defend them from enemies and wild beasts. Abundance of little incidents happened upon this march, which it is not possible to crowd into this account; particularly, we saw more wild beasts now than we did before, some elephants, and two or three lions; none of which kinds we had seen any of before; and we found our negroes were more afraid of them a great deal than we were; principally because they had no bows and arrows, or lances, which were the particular weapons they were bred up to the exercise of.

But we cured them of their fears, by being always ready with our fire-arms. However as we were willing to be

sparing of our powder, and the killing any of the creatures now was no advantage to us, seeing their skins were too heavy for us to carry, and their flesh not good to eat, we resolved, therefore, to keep some of our pieces uncharged, and only primed; and causing them to flash in the pan, the beasts, even the lions themselves, would always start, and fly back when they saw it, and immediately march off.

We passed abundance of inhabitants upon this upper part of the river, and with this observation, that almost every ten miles, we came to a several nation, and every several nation had a different speech, or else their speech had differing dialects, so that they did not understand one another. They all abounded in cattle, especially on the river side; and the eighth day of this second navigation, we met with a little negro town, where they had growing a sort of corn like rice, which eat very sweet; and, as we got some of it of the people, we made very good cakes of bread of it, and, making a fire, baked them on the ground, after the fire was swept away, very well; so that hitherto we had no want of provisions of any kind we could desire.

Our negroes towing our canoes, we travelled at a considerable rate, and by our own account could not go less than twenty or twenty-five English miles a day, and the river continuing to be much at the same breadth, and very deep all the way, till on the tenth day we came to another cataract; for a ridge of high hills crossing the whole channel of the river, the water came tumbling down the rocks from one stage to another in a strange manner; so that it was a continued link of cataracts from one to another, in the manner of a cascade; only that the falls were sometimes a quarter of a mile from one another, and the noise confused and frightful.

We thought our voyaging was at a full stop now; but three of us, with a couple of our negroes, mounting the hills another way, to view the course of the river, we found a fair channel again after about half a mile's march, and that it was like to hold us a good way further. So we set all hands to work, unloaded our cargo, and hauled our canoes on shore, to see if we could carry them.

Upon examination, we found that they were very heavy; but our carpenters spending but one day's work on them, hewed away so much of the timber from their outsides, as

reduced them very much, and yet they were as fit to swim as before. When this was done, ten men with poles took up one of the canoes, and made nothing to carry it. So we ordered twenty men to each canoe, that one ten might relieve another; and thus we carried all our canoes, and launched them into the water again, and then fetched our luggage, and loaded it all again into the canoes, and all in an afternoon; and the next morning early we moved forward again. When we had towed about four days more, our gunner, who was our pilot, began to observe, that we did not keep our right course so exactly as we ought, the river winding away a little towards the north; and gave us notice of it accordingly. However, we were not willing to lose the advantage of water-carriage, at least not till we were forced to it; so we jogged on, and the river served us about threescore miles further; but then we found it grew very small and shallow, having passed the mouths of several little brooks or rivulets which come into it; and at length it became but a brook itself.

We towed up as far as ever our boats would swim, and we went two days the further, having been about twelve days in this last part of the river, by lightening the boats, and taking our luggage out, which we made the negroes carry, being willing to ease ourselves as long as we could; but, at the end of these two days, in short, there was not water enough to swim a London wherry.

We now set forward wholly by land, and without any expectation of more water-carriage. All our concern for more water was, to be sure to have a supply for our drinking; and, therefore, upon every hill that we came near, we clambered up to the highest part, to see the country before us, and to make the best judgment we could which way to go, to keep the lowest grounds, and as near some stream of water as we could.

The country held verdant, well grown with trees, and spread with rivers and brooks, and tolerably well with inhabitants, for about thirty days' march after our leaving the canoes, during which time things went pretty well with us; we did not tie ourselves down when to march and when to halt, but ordered those things as our convenience, and the health and ease of our people, as well our servants as ourselves, required.

About the middle of this march, we came into a low and plain country, in which we perceived a greater number of inhabitants, than in any other country we had gone through; but that which was worse for us, we found them a fierce, barbarous, treacherous people, and who at first looked upon us as robbers, and gathered themselves in numbers to attack us.

Our men were terrified at them at first, and began to discover an unusual fear; and even our black prince seemed in a great deal of confusion: but I smiled at him, and showing him some of our guns, I asked him, if he thought that which killed the spotted cat (for so they called the leopard in their language), could not make a thousand of those naked creatures die at one blow; then he laughed, and said, yes, he believed it would. Well then, said I, tell your men not to be afraid of these people, for we shall soon give them a taste of what we can do, if they pretend to meddle with us.—However, we considered we were in the middle of a vast country, and we knew not what numbers of people and nations we might be surrounded with; and, above all, we knew not how much we might stand in need of the friendship of these that we were now among; so that we ordered the negroes to try all the methods they could to make them friends.

Accordingly, the two men who had gotten bows and arrows, and two more, to whom we gave the prince's two fine lances, went foremost, with five more, having long poles in their hands, and after them, ten of our men advanced toward the negro town that was next to us, and we all stood ready to succour them, if there should be occasion.

When they came pretty near their houses, our negroes hallooed in their screaming way, and called to them as loud as they could. Upon their calling, some of the men came out and answered, and immediately afterwards, the whole town, men, women, and children appeared: our negroes, with their long poles, went forward a little and stuck them all in the ground, and left them, which in their country was a signal of peace; but the other did not understand the meaning of that. Then the two men with bows laid down their bows and arrows, went forward unarmed, and made signs of peace to them, which at last the other began to understand; so two of their men laid down their bows and arrows, and came

towards them. Our men made all the signs of friendship to them that they could think of, putting their hands up to their mouths as a sign that they wanted provisions to eat, and the other pretended to be pleased and friendly, and went back to their fellows, and talked with them awhile: and they came forward again, and made signs that they would bring some provisions to them before the sun set; and so our men came back again, very well satisfied for that time.

But an hour before sunset our men went to them again, just in the same posture as before, and they came according to their appointment, and brought deer's flesh, roots, and the same kind of corn like rice (which I mentioned above), and our negroes being furnished with such toys as our cutler had contrived, gave them some of them, which they seemed infinitely pleased with, and promised to bring more provisions the next day.

Accordingly, the next day they came again, but our men perceived they were more in number by a great many than before; however, having sent out ten men with fire-arms, to stand ready, and our whole army being in view also, we were not much surprised; nor was the treachery of the enemy so cunningly ordered as in other cases; for they might have surrounded our negroes, which were but nine, under a show of peace; but when they saw our men advance almost as far as the place where they were the day before, the rogues snatched up their bows and arrows, and came running upon our men like so many furies, at which our ten men called to the negroes to come back to them, which they did with speed enough, at the first word, and stood all behind our men. As they fled, the other advanced and let fly near a hundred of their arrows at them, by which two of our negroes were wounded, and one we thought had been killed. When they came to the five poles that our men had stuck in the ground, they stood still awhile, and gathering about the poles, looked at them, and handled them, as wondering at what they meant. We then, who were drawn up behind all, sent one of our number to our ten men, to bid them fire among them, while they stood so thick, and to put some small shot into their guns, besides the ordinary charge, and to tell them, that we would be up with them immediately.

Accordingly they made ready; but by the time they were

ready to fire, the black army had left their wondering about the poles, and began to stir as if they would come on, though seeing more men stand at some distance behind our negroes, they could not tell what to make of us; but, if they did not understand us before, they understood us less afterwards; for, as soon as ever our men found them begin to move forward, they fired among the thickest of them, being about the distance of a hundred and twenty yards, as near as we could guess.

It is impossible to express the fright, the screaming and yelling of those wretches, upon this first volley; we killed six of them, and wounded eleven or twelve, I mean as we knew of: for, as they stood thick, and the small shot, as we called it, scattered among them, we had reason to believe we wounded more that stood farther off; for our small shot was made of bits of lead, and bits of iron, heads of nails, and such things as our diligent artificer, the cutler, helped us to.

As to those that were killed and wounded, the other frightened creatures were under the greatest amazement in the world, to think what should hurt them; for they could see nothing but holes made in their bodies, they knew not how. Then the fire and noise amazed all their women and children, and frightened them out of their wits, so that they ran staring and howling about like mad creatures.

However, all this did not make them fly, which was what we wanted; nor did we find any of them die as it were with fear, as at first; so we resolved upon a second volley, and then to advance as we did before. Whereupon our reserved men advancing, we resolved to fire only three men at a time, and move forward like an army firing in platoon: so, being all in line, we fired first, three on the right, then three on the left, and so on; and every time we killed or wounded some of them; but still they did not fly, and yet they were so frightened, that they used none of their bows and arrows, nor of their lances; and we thought their numbers increased upon our hands; particularly we thought so by the noise; so I called to our men to halt, and bid them pour in one whole volley, and then shout, as we did in our first fight, and so run in upon them and knock them down with our muskets.

But they were too wise for that too; for as soon as we

had fired a whole volley, and shouted, they all run away, men, women, and children, so fast, that in a few moments we could not see one creature of them, except some that were wounded and lame, who lay wallowing and screaming here and there upon the ground, as they happened to fall.

CHAPTER VI.

JOURNEY CONTINUED—WE REACH A VAST WILDERNESS OF SAND—ADVENTURES IN CROSSING THE DESERT—WE ENCAMP ON THE BANKS OF AN IMMENSE LAKE—DESCRIPTION OF THE BEASTS OF PREY, &c.

Upon this we came up to the field of battle, where we found we had killed thirty-seven of them, among whom were three women, and had wounded about sixty-four, among whom were two women. By wounded, I mean such as were so maimed as not to be able to go away, and those our negroes killed afterwards in a cowardly manner, in cold blood, for which we were very angry, and threatened to make them go to them if they did so again.

There was no great spoil to be got, for they were all stark naked as they came into the world, men and women together, some of them having feathers stuck in their hair, and others a kind of bracelets about their necks, but nothing else; but our negroes got a booty here, which we were very glad of, and this was the bows and arrows of the vanquished, of which they found more than they knew what to do with, belonging to the killed and wounded men. These we ordered them to pick up, and they were very useful to us afterwards. After the fight, and our negroes had gotten bows and arrows, we sent them out in parties to see what they could get, and they got some provisions; but, which was better than all the rest, they brought four more young bulls, or buffaloes, that had been brought up to labour, and to carry burthens. They knew them, it seems, by the burthens they had carried having galled their backs, for they have no saddles to cover them with in that country.

Those creatures not only eased our negroes, but gave us an opportunity to carry more provisions; and our negroes

loaded them very hard at this place with flesh and roots, such as we wanted very much afterwards.

In this town we found a very little young leopard, about two spans high; it was exceeding tame, and purred like a cat when we stroked it with our hands, being, as I suppose, bred up among the negroes like a house dog. It was our black prince, it seems, who, making his tour among the abandoned houses or huts, found this creature there, and, making much of him, and giving a bit or two of flesh to him, the creature followed him like a dog.

Among the negroes that were killed in this battle there was one who had a little thin bit or plate of gold, about as big as a sixpence, which hung by a little bit of a twisted gut upon his forehead, by which we supposed he was a man of some eminence among them; but that was not all, for this bit of gold put us upon searching very narrowly if there was not more of it to be had thereabouts, but we found none at all.

From this part of the country we went on for about fifteen days, and then found ourselves obliged to march up a high ridge of mountains, frightful to behold, and the first of the kind that we met with; and having no guide but our little pocket-compass, we had no advantage of information as to which was the best or the worst way, but were obliged to choose by what we saw, and shift as well as we could. We met with several nations of wild and naked people in the plain country before we came to those hills; and we found them much more tractable and friendly than those devils we had been forced to fight with; and though we could learn little from these people, yet we understood, by the signs they made, that there was a vast desert beyond those hills, and, as our negroes called them, much lion, much spotted cat (so they called the leopard); and they signed to us also, that we must carry water with us. At the last of these nations, we furnished ourselves with as much provisions as we could possibly carry, not knowing what we had to suffer, or what length we had to go; and to make our way as familiar to us as possible, I proposed, that of the last inhabitants we could find, we should make some prisoners, and carry them with us for guides, over the desert, and to assist us in carrying provision, and perhaps in getting it too. The advice was too necessary to be slighted; so, finding by our dumb signs

to the inhabitants, that there were some people that dwelt at the foot of the mountains, on the other side, before we came to the desert itself, we resolved to furnish ourselves with guides, by fair means or foul.

Here, by a moderate computation, we concluded ourselves seven hundred miles from the sea-coast, where we began. Our black prince was this day set free from the sling his arm hung in, our surgeon having perfectly restored it, and he showed it to his own countrymen quite well, which made them greatly wonder. Also our two negroes began to recover, and their wounds to heal apace, for our surgeon was very skilful in managing their cure.

Having, with infinite labour, mounted these hills, and coming to a view of the country beyond them, it was indeed enough to astonish as stout a heart as ever was created. It was a vast howling wilderness, not a tree, a river, or a green thing to be seen; for as far as the eye could look, nothing but a scalding sand, which, as the wind blew, drove about in clouds, enough to overwhelm man and beast: nor could we see any end of it, either before us, which was our way, or to the right hand or left: so that truly our men began to be discouraged, and talked of going back again; nor could we, indeed, think of venturing over such a horrid place as that before us, in which we saw nothing but present death.

I was as much affected at the sight as any of them; but, for all that, I could not bear the thoughts of going back again. I told them, we had marched seven hundred miles of our way, and it would be worse than death to think of going back again; and that, if they thought the desert was not passable, I thought we should rather change our course, and travel south till we came to the Cape of Good Hope, or north to the country that lay along the Nile, where, perhaps, we might find some way or other over to the west sea; for sure all Africa was not a desert.

Our gunner, who, as I said before, was our guide, as to the situation of places, told us, that he could not tell what to say to going for the Cape; for it was a monstrous length, being, from the place where we now were, not less than fifteen hundred miles; and, by his account, we were now come a third part of the way to the coast of Angola, where we should meet with the western ocean, and find ways enough for our escape home. On the other hand, he assured

us, and showed us a map of it, that if we went northward, the western shore of Africa went out into the sea above a thousand miles west; so that we should have so much, and more land to travel afterwards; which land might, for aught we knew, be as wild, barren, and desert, as this. And therefore, upon the whole, he proposed that we should attempt this desert, and perhaps we should not find it so long as we feared; and, however, he proposed that we should see how far our provisions would carry us, and, in particular, our water; and that we should venture no further than half so far as our water would last; and if we found no end of the desert, we might come safely back again.

This advice was so seasonable that all approved of it; and, accordingly, we calculated that we were able to carry provisions for forty-two days, but that we could not carry water for above twenty days, though we were to suppose it to stink too before that time expired. So that we concluded that, if we did not come at some water in ten days' time, we would return; but if we found a supply of water, we could then travel twenty-one days, and, if we saw no end of the wilderness in that time, we would return also.

With this regulation of our measures, we descended the mountains, and it was the second day before we quite reached the plain, where, however, to make us amends, we found a fine little rivulet of very good water, abundance of deer, a sort of creature like a hare, but not so nimble, and whose flesh we found very agreeable; but we were deceived in our intelligence, for we found no people; so we got no more prisoners to assist us in carrying our baggage.

The infinite number of deer, and other creatures which we saw here, we found was occasioned by the neighbourhood of the waste or desert, from whence they retired hither for food and refreshment. We stored ourselves here with flesh and roots of divers kinds, which our negroes understood better than we, and which served us for bread, and with as much water as (by the allowance of a quart a day to a man for our negroes, and three pints a day a man for ourselves, and three quarts a day each for our buffaloes) would serve us twenty days; and thus loaden for a long miserable march, we set forwards, being all sound in health, and very cheerful, but not alike strong for so great a fatigue, and, which was our grievance, were without a guide.

In the very first entrance of the waste, we were exceedingly discouraged; for we found the sand so deep, and it scalded our feet so much with the heat, that, after we had, as I may call it, waded rather than walked through it about seven or eight miles, we were all heartily tired and faint—even the very negroes lay down and panted, like creatures that had been pushed beyond their strength.

Here we found the difference of lodging greatly injurious to us, for, as before, we always made us huts to sleep under, which covered us from the night air, which is particularly unwholesome in those hot countries; but we had here no shelter, no lodging, after so hard a march, for here were no trees—no, not a shrub near us—and, which was still more frightful, towards night we began to hear the wolves howl, the lions bellow, and a great many wild asses braying, and other ugly noises, which we did not understand.

Upon this we reflected upon our indiscretion—that we had not, at least, brought poles or stakes in our hands, with which we might have, as it were, palisadoed ourselves in for the night, and so we might have slept secure, whatever other inconveniences we suffered. However, we found a way at last, to relieve ourselves a little. For, first, we set up the lances and bows we had, and endeavoured to bring the tops of them as near to one another as we could, and so hung our coats on the top of them, which made us a kind of sorry tent. The leopard's skin, and a few other skins we had put together, made us a tolerable covering, and thus we lay down to sleep, and slept very heartily too for the first night, setting, however, a good watch, being two of our own men with their fusees, whom we relieved in an hour at first, and two hours afterwards; and it was very well we did this, for they found the wilderness swarmed with raging creatures of all kinds, some of which came directly up to the very enclosure of our tent. But our sentinels were ordered not to alarm us with firing in the night, but to flash in the pan at them, which they did, and found it effectual, for the creatures went off always as soon as they saw it, perhaps with some noise or howling, and pursued such other game as they were upon.

If we were tired with the day's travel, we were all as much tired with the night's lodging: but our black prince told us in the morning, he would give us some counsel, and

indeed it was very good counsel. He told us we should be all killed, if we went on this journey, and through this desert, without some covering for us at night; so he advised us to march back again to a little river side, where we lay the night before, and stay there till we could make us houses, as he called them, to carry with us to lodge in every night. As he began a little to understand our speech, and we very well to understand his signs, we easily knew what he meant, and that we should there make mats (for we remembered that we saw a great deal of matting, or bass there, that the natives made mats of); I say, that we should make large mats there for covering our huts or tents to lodge in at night.

We all approved this advice, and immediately resolved to go back that one day's journey, resolving, though we carried less provisions, we would carry mats with us, to cover us in the night. Some of the nimblest of us got back to the river with more ease than we had travelled it but the day before; but, as we were not in haste, the rest made a halt, encamped another night, and came to us the next day.

In our return of this day's journey, our men, that made two days of it, met with a very surprising thing, that gave them some reason to be careful how they parted company again. The case was this. The second day in the morning, before they had gone half a mile, looking behind them, they saw a vast cloud of sand or dust rise in the air, as we see sometimes in the roads in summer, when it is very dusty, and a large drove of cattle are coming, only very much greater; and they could easily perceive that it came after them; and it came on faster than they went from it. The cloud of sand was so great, that they could not see what it was that raised it; and concluded that it was some army of enemies that pursued them; but then considering that they came from the vast uninhabited wilderness, they knew it was impossible any nation or people that way should have intelligence of them, or the way of their march; and therefore, if it was an army, it must be of such as they were travelling that way by accident. On the other hand, as they knew that there were no horse in the country, and that they came on so fast, they concluded that it must be some vast collection of wild beasts, perhaps making to the hill country for food or water,

and that they should be all devoured or trampled under foot by their multitude.

Upon this thought, they very prudently observed which way the cloud seemed to point, and they turned a little out of the way to the north, supposing it might pass by them. When they were about a quarter of a mile, they halted to see what it might be. One of the negroes, a nimbler fellow than the rest, went back a little, and came in a few minutes, running as fast as the heavy sand would allow; and by signs, gave them to know, that it was a great herd or drove, or whatever it might be called, of vast monstrous elephants.

As it was a sight our men had never seen, they were desirous to see it, and yet a little uneasy at the danger too: for though an elephant is a heavy, unwieldy creature, yet in the deep sand, which was nothing at all to them, they marched at a great rate, and would soon have tired our people, if they had had far to go, and had been pursued by them.

Our gunner was with them, and had a great mind to have gone close up to one of the outermost of them, and to have clapped his piece to his ear, and to have fired into him, because he had been told no shot would penetrate them; but they all dissuaded him, lest, upon the noise, they should all turn upon, and pursue us: so he was reasoned out of it, and let them pass, which, in our people's circumstances, was certainly the right way.

They were between twenty and thirty in number, but prodigious great ones; and though they often showed our men that they saw them, yet they did not turn out of their way, or take any other notice of them, than, as we may say, just to look at them. We that were before saw the cloud of dust they raised, but we thought it had been our own caravan, and so took no notice; but as they bent their course one point of the compass, or thereabouts, to the southward of the east, and we went due east, they passed by us at some little distance; so that we did not see them, or know anything of them, till evening, when our men came to us, and gave us this account of them. However, this was a useful experiment for our future conduct in passing the desert, as you shall hear in its place.

We were now upon our work, and our black prince was

head surveyor, for he was an excellent mat-maker himself, and all his men understood it; so that they soon made us near a hundred mats; and as every man, I mean of the negroes, carried one, it was no manner of load, and we did not carry an ounce of provisions the less. The greatest burthen was to carry six long poles, besides some shorter stakes; but the negroes made an advantage of that, for carrying them between two, they made the luggage of provisions which they had to carry so much the lighter, binding it upon two poles, and made three couple of them. As soon as we saw this, we made a little advantage of it too; for having three or four bags, called bottles (I mean skins or bladders to carry water), more than the men could carry, we got them filled, and carried them this way, which was a day's water and more, for our journey.

Having now ended our work, made our mats, and fully recruited our stores of things necessary, and having made us abundance of small ropes and matting for ordinary use, as we might have occasion, we set forward again, having interrupted our journey eight days in all, upon this affair. To our great comfort, the night before we set out, there fell a very violent shower of rain, the effects of which we found in the sand; though the one day dried the surface as much as before, yet it was harder at bottom, not so heavy, and was cooler to our feet, by which means we marched, as we reckoned, about fourteen miles instead of seven, and with much more ease.

When we came to encamp, we had all things ready, for we had fitted our tent, and set it up for trial, where we made it; so that, in less than an hour, we had a large tent raised, with an inner and outer apartment, and two entrances. In one we lay ourselves, in the other our negroes, having light pleasant mats over us, and others at the same time under us. Also, we had a little place without all, for our buffaloes, for they deserved our care, being very useful to us, besides carrying forage and water for themselves. Their forage was a root, which our black prince directed us to find, not much unlike a parsnip, very moist and nourishing, of which there was plenty wherever we came, this horrid desert excepted.

When we came the next morning to decamp, our negroes took down the tent, and pulled up the stakes; and all was in motion in as little time as it was set up. In this posture we

marched eight days, and yet could see no end, no change of our prospect, but all looking as wild and dismal as at the beginning. If there was any alteration, it was that the sand was nowhere so deep and heavy, as it was the first three days. This we thought might be, because, for six months of the year, the winds blowing west (as for the other six, they blew constantly east), the sand was driven violently to the side of the desert where we set out, where the mountains lying very high, the easterly monsoons, when they blew, had not the same power to drive it back again; and this was confirmed by our finding the like depth of sand on the farthest extent of the desert to the west.

It was the ninth day of our travel in this wilderness, when we came to the view of a great lake of water; and you may be sure this was a particular satisfaction to us, because we had not water left for above two or three days more, at our shortest allowance; I mean, allowing water for our return, if we had been put to the necessity of it. Our water had served us two days longer than expected, our buffaloes having found, for two or three days, a kind of herb like a broad flat thistle, though without any prickle, spreading on the ground, and growing in the sand, which they eat freely of, and which supplied them for drink as well as forage.

The next day, which was the tenth from our setting out, we came to the edge of this lake, and, happily for us, we came to it at the south point of it; so we passed by it, and travelled three days by the side of it, which was a great comfort to us, because it lightened our burthen, there being no need to carry water when we had it in view. And yet, though here was so much water, we found but very little alteration in the desert; no trees, no grass or herbage, except that thistle, as I called it, and two or three more plants, which we did not understand, of which the desert began to be pretty full.

But as we were refreshed with the neighbourhood of this lake of water, so we were now gotten among a prodigious number of ravenous inhabitants, the like whereof, it is most certain, the eye of man never saw: for, as I firmly believe, that never man, nor any body of men, passed this desert since the flood, so I believe there is not the like collection of fierce, ravenous, and devouring creatures in the world; I mean, not in any particular place.

For a day's journey before we came to this lake, and all the three days we were passing by it, and for six or seven days' march after it, the ground was scattered with elephants' teeth, in such a number as is incredible; and, as some of them may have lain there for some hundreds of years, so, seeing the substance of them scarce ever decays, they may lie there, for ought I know, to the end of time. The size of some of them is, it seems, to those to whom I have reported it, as incredible as the number; and I can assure you, there were several so heavy, as the strongest man among us could not lift. As to number, I question not there are enough to load a thousand sail of the biggest ships in the world, by which I may be understood to mean, that the quantity is not to be conceived of; seeing, that as they lasted in view for above eighty miles travelling, so they might continue as far to the right hand, and to the left as far, and many times as far, for aught we knew; for it seems the number of elephants hereabouts is prodigiously great. In one place in particular we saw the head of an elephant, with several teeth in it, but one of the biggest that ever I saw: the flesh was consumed to be sure many hundred years before, and all the other bones; but three of our strongest men could not lift this skull and teeth: the great tooth, I believe, weighed at least three hundred weight; and this was particularly remarkable to me, for I observed the whole skull was as good ivory as the teeth; and, I believe, altogether weighed at least six hundred weight; and though I do not know but, by the same rule, all the bones of the elephant may be ivory, yet I think there is a just objection against it, from the example before me, that then all the other bones of this elephant would have been there as well as the head.

I proposed to our gunner, that, seeing we had travelled now fourteen days without intermission, and that we had water here for our refreshment, and no want of food yet, nor any fear of it, we should rest our people a little, and see, at the same time, if, perhaps, we might kill some creatures that were proper for food. The gunner, who had more forecast of that kind than I had, agreed to the proposal, and added, why might we not try to catch some fish out of the lake? The first thing we had before us, was to try if we could make any hooks, and this indeed put our artificer to his trumps; however, with some labour and difficulty, he did

it, and we catched fresh fish of several kinds. How they came there, none but He that made the lake, and all the world, knows; for, to be sure, no human hands ever put any in there, or pulled any out before.

We not only catched enough for our present refreshment, but we dried several large fishes, of kinds which I cannot describe, in the sun, by which we lengthened out our provisions considerably; for the heat of the sun dried them so effectually without salt, that they were perfectly cured, dry, and hard, in one day's time.

We rested ourselves here five days; during which time we had abundance of pleasant adventures with the wild creatures, too many to relate. One of them was very particular, which was a chase between a she-lion or lioness, and a large deer; and, though the deer is naturally a very nimble creature, and she flew by us like the wind, having, perhaps, about three hundred yards the start of the lion, yet we found the lion, by her strength, and the goodness of her lungs, got ground of her. They passed by us within about a quarter of a mile, and we had a view of them a great way, when, having given them over, we were surprised, about an hour after, to see them come thundering back again on the other side of us, and then the lion was within thirty or forty yards of her; and both straining to the extremity of their speed, when the deer, coming to the lake, plunged into the water, and swam for her life, as she had before run for it.

The lioness plunged in after her, and swam a little way, but came back again; and, when she was got upon the land, she set up the most hideous roar that ever I heard in my life, as if done in the rage of having lost her prey.

We walked out morning and evening constantly; the middle of the day we refreshed ourselves under our tent: but one morning early we saw another chase, which more nearly concerned us than the other; for our black prince, walking by the side of the lake, was set upon by a vast great crocodile, which came out of the lake upon him; and though he was very light of foot, yet it was as much as he could do to get away: he fled amain to us, and the truth is, we did not know what to do, for we were told no bullet would enter her; and we found it so at first, for though three of our men fired at her, yet she did not mind them; but my friend the gunner, a venturous fellow, of a bold heart, and great pre-

sence of mind, went up so near as to thrust the muzzle of his piece into her mouth, and fired, but let his piece fall, and ran for it the very moment he had fired it: the creature raged a great while, and spent its fury upon the gun, making marks upon the very iron with her teeth, but after some time fainted and died.

Our negroes spread the banks of the lake all this while for game, and at length killed us three deer, one of them very large the other two very small. There was water-fowl also in the lake, but we never came near enough to them to shoot any; and, as for the desert, we saw no fowls anywhere in it, but at the lake.

We likewise killed two or three civet cats; but their flesh is the worst of carrion. We saw abundance of elephants at a distance, and observed they always go in very good company, that is to say, abundance of them together, and always extended in a fair line of battle; and this, they say, is the way they defend themselves from their enemies; for, if lions or tigers, wolves, or any creatures, attack them, they being drawn up in a line, sometimes reaching five or six miles in length, whatever comes in their way is sure to be trod under foot, or beaten in pieces with their trunks, or lifted up in the air with their trunks: so that if a hundred lions or tigers were coming along, if they meet a line of elephants, they will always fly back till they see room to pass by to the right hand or to the left; and if they did not, it would be impossible for one of them to escape; for the elephant, though a heavy creature, is yet so dexterous and nimble with his trunk, that he will not fail to lift up the heaviest lion, or any other wild creature, and throw him up in the air quite over his back, and then trample him to death with his feet. We saw several lines of battle thus; we saw one so long, that indeed there was no end of it to be seen, and, I believe, there might be two thousand elephants in a row or line. They are not beasts of prey, but live upon the herbage of the field, as an ox does; and it is said, that though they are so great a creature, yet that a smaller quantity of forage supplies one of them than will suffice a horse.

The numbers of this kind of creature that are in those parts are inconceivable, as may be gathered from the prodigious quantity of teeth, which, as I said, we saw in this

vast desert; and indeed we saw a hundred of them to one of any other kinds.

One evening we were very much surprised; we were most of us laid down on our mats to sleep, when our watch came running in among us, being frightened with the sudden roaring of some lions just by them, which, it seems, they had not seen, the night being dark, till they were just upon them. There was, as it proved, an old lion and his whole family, for there was the lioness and three young lions, besides the old king, who was a monstrous great one: one of the young ones, who were good large well-grown ones too, leaped up upon one of our negroes, who stood sentinal, before he saw him, at which he was heartily frightened, cried out, and ran into the tent: our other man, who had a gun, had not presence of mind at first to shoot him, but struck him with the but-end of his piece, which made him whine a little, and then growl at him fearfully; but the fellow retired, and, we being all alarmed, three of our men snatched up their guns, ran to the tent door, where they saw the great old lion by the fire of his eyes, and first fired at him, but, we supposed, missed him, or at least did not kill him; for they went all off, but raised a most hideous roar, which, as if they had called for help, brought down a prodigious number of lions, and other furious creatures, we know not what, about them, for we could not see them; but there was a noise and yelling, and howling, and all sort of such wilderness music on every side of us, as if all the beasts of the desert were assembled to devour us.

We asked our black prince what we should do with them. Me go, says he, and fright them all. So he snatches up two or three of the worst of our mats, and, getting one of our men to strike some fire, he hangs the mat up at the end of a pole, and set it on fire, and it blazed abroad a good while, at which the creatures all moved off, for we heard them roar, and make their bellowing noise at a great distance. Well, says our gunner, if that will do, we need not burn our mats, which are our beds to lay under us, and our tilting to cover us. Let me alone, says he. So he comes back into our tent, and falls to making some artificial fire-works, and the like; and he gave our sentinels some to be ready at hand upon occasion, and particularly he placed a great piece of

wildfire upon the same pole that the mat had been tied to, and set it on fire, and that burnt there so long that all the wild creatures left us for that time.

However, we began to be weary of such company, and, to get rid of them, we set forward again two days sooner than we intended. We found now that, though the desert did not end, nor could we see any appearance of it, yet that the earth was pretty full of green stuff, of one sort or another, so that our cattle had no want; and, secondly, that there were several little rivers which ran into the lake, and, so long as the country continued low, we found water sufficient, which eased us very much in our carriage, and we went on still sixteen days more without yet coming to any appearance of better soil. After this we found the country rise a little, and by that we perceived that the water would fail us; so, for fear of the worst, we filled our bladder bottles with water. We found the country rising gradually thus for three days continually, when, on the sudden, we perceived, that though we had mounted up insensibly, yet that we were on the top of a very high ridge of hills, though not such as at first.

CHAPTER VII.

WE REACH THE END OF THE DESERT—A PLEASANT COUNTRY SUCCEEDS—ARRIVAL AT THE GOLDEN RIVER—WE AGREE TO SEARCH FOR GOLD, AND DIVIDE THE WHOLE PROCEEDS EQUALLY—THE WET SEASON COMMENCING, WE ENCAMP ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER—DESCRIPTION OF OUR CAMP—DANGERS FROM MULTITUDES OF WILD BEASTS—WE STRIKE OUR CAMP, AND TRAVEL THROUGH AN INHOSPITABLE COUNTRY.

When we came to look down on the other side of the hills, we saw, to the great joy of all our hearts, that the desert was at an end; that the country was clothed with green, abundance of trees, and a large river; and we made no doubt but that we should find people and cattle also. And here, by our gunner's account, who kept our computations, we had marched about four hundred miles over this dismal

place of horror, having been four-and-thirty days a-doing of it, and, consequently, were come about eleven hundred miles of our journey.

We would willingly have descended the hills that night, but it was too late. The next morning we saw everything more plain, and rested ourselves under the shade of some trees, which were now the most refreshing things imaginable to us, who had been scorched above a month without a tree to cover us. We found the country here very pleasant, especially considering that we came from; and we killed some deer here also, which we found very frequent under the cover of the woods. Also we killed a creature like a goat, whose flesh was very good to eat, but it was no goat. We found also a great number of fowls, like partridge, but something smaller, and were very tame; so that we lived here very well, but found no people—at least, none that would be seen—no, not for several days' journey; and, to allay our joy, we were almost every night disturbed with lions and tigers. Elephants we saw none here.

In three days' march we came to a river, which we saw from the hills, and which we called the Golden river; and we found it ran northward, which was the first stream we had met with that did so. It ran with a very rapid current, and our gunner, pulling out his map, assured me that this was either the river Nile, or ran into the great lake out of which the river Nile was said to take its beginning; and he brought out his charts and maps, which, by his instruction, I began to understand very well, and told me he would convince me of it, and indeed he seemed to make it so plain to me that I was of the same opinion.

But I did not enter into the gunner's reason for this inquiry—not in the least—till he went on with it further, and stated it thus: If this is the river Nile, why should we not build some more canoes, and go down this stream, rather than to expose ourselves to any more deserts and scorching sands, in quest of the sea, which, when we are come to, we shall be as much at a loss how to get home as we were at Madagascar.

The argument was good had there been no objections in the way, of a kind which none of us were capable of answering; but, upon the whole, it was an undertaking of such a nature that every one of us thought it impracticable.

and that upon several accounts; and our surgeon, who was himself a good scholar, and a man of reading, though not acquainted with the business of sailing, opposed it, and some of his reasons, I remember, were such as these: first, the length of the way, which both he and the gunner allowed, by the course of the water and turnings of the river, would be at least four thousand miles; secondly, the innumerable crocodiles in the river, which we should never be able to escape; thirdly, the dreadful deserts in the way; and, lastly, the approaching rainy season, in which the streams of the Nile would be so furious, and rise so high, spreading far and wide over all the plain country, that we should never be able to know when we were in the channel of the river and when not, and should certainly be cast away, overset, or run aground so often that it would be impossible to proceed by a river so excessively dangerous.

This last reason he made so plain to us, that we began to be sensible of it ourselves; so that we agreed to lay that thought aside, and proceed in our first course westwards towards the sea: but, as if we had been loath to depart, we continued, by way of refreshing ourselves, to loiter two days upon this river, in which time our black prince, who delighted much in wandering up and down, came one evening, and brought us several little bits of something, he knew not what; but he found it felt heavy, and looked well, and showed it to me, as what he thought was some rarity. I took not much notice of it to him, but stepping out and calling the gunner to me, I showed it to him, and told him what I thought, viz., that it was certainly gold: he agreed with me in that, and also in what followed, that we would take the black prince out with us the next day, and make him show us where he found it; that, if there was any quantity to be found, we would tell our company of it; but, if there was but little. we would keep counsel, and have it to ourselves.

But we forgot to engage the prince in the secret, who innocently told so much to all the rest, as that they guessed what it was, and came to us to see: when we found it was public, we were more concerned to prevent their suspecting that we had any design to conceal it, and openly telling our thoughts of it, we called our artificer, who agreed presently that it was gold; so I proposed, that we should all go with the prince to the place where he found it, and, if any quantity was to be

had, we would lie here some time, and see what we could make of it.

Accordingly, we went every man of us, for no man was willing to be left behind in a discovery of such a nature. When we came to the place, we found it was on the west side of the river, not in the main river, but in another small river or stream which came from the west, and ran into the other at that place. We fell to raking in the sand, and washing it in our hands, and we seldom took up a handful of sand, but we washed some little round lumps as big as a pin's head, or sometimes as big as a grape-stone, into our hands, and we found, in two or three hours' time, that every one had got some, so we agreed to leave off, and go to dinner.

While we were eating, it came into my thoughts, that while we worked at this rate in a thing of such nicety and consequence, it was ten to one if the gold, which was the makebate of the world, did not, first or last, set us together by the ears, to break our good articles and our understanding one among another, and perhaps cause us to part companies, or worse; I therefore told them, that I was indeed the youngest man of the company, but, as they had always allowed me to give my opinion in things, and had been sometimes pleased to follow my advice, so I had something to propose now which I thought would be for all our advantages, and I believed they would all like it very well. I told them we were in a country where we all knew there was a great deal of gold, and that all the world sent ships thither to get it: that we did not indeed know where it was, and so we might get a great deal, or a little, we did not know whether; but I offered it to them to consider, whether it would not be the best way for us, and to preserve the good harmony and friendship that had been always kept among us, and which was so absolutely necessary to our safety, that what we found should be brought together to one common stock, and be equally divided at last, rather than to run the hazard of any difference which might happen among us, from anyone's having found more or less than another. I told them that, if we were all upon one bottom, we should all apply ourselves heartily to the work; and, besides that, we might then set our negroes all to work for us, and receive equally the fruit of their labour, and of our own, and being all exactly alike sharers, there could be no just cause of quarrel or disgust among us.

They all approved the proposal, and every one jointly swore, and gave their hands to one another, that they would not conceal the least grain of gold from the rest; and consented that, if any one or more should be found to conceal any, all that he had should be taken from him, and divided among the rest; and one thing more was added to it by our gunner, from considerations equally good and just, that, if any one of us, by any play, bet, game, or wager, won any money or gold, or the value of any, from another, during our whole voyage, till our return quite to Portugal, he should be obliged by us all to restore it again, on the penalty of being disarmed, and turned out of the company, and of having no relief from us on any account whatsoever. This was to prevent wagering and playing for money, which our men were apt to do by several games, though they had neither cards nor dice.

Having made this wholesome agreement, we went cheerfully to work, and showed our negroes how to work for us; and, working up the stream on both sides, and in the bottom of the river, we spent about three weeks' time dabbling in the water; by which time, as it lay all in our way, we had been gone about six miles, and not more; and still the higher we went, the more gold we found; till at last, having passed by the side of a hill, we perceived on a sudden, that the gold stopped, and that there was not a bit taken up beyond that place: it presently occurred to my mind, that it must then be from the side of that little hill that all the gold we found was worked down.

Upon this, we went back to the hill, and fell to work with that. We found the earth loose, and of a yellowish loamy colour, and in some places a white hard kind of stone, which, in describing since to some of our artists, they tell me was the spar which is found by ore, and surrounds it in the mine. However, if it had been all gold, we had no instrument to force it out; so we passed that: but scratching into the loose earth with our fingers, we came to a surprising place, where the earth, for the quantity of two bushels, I believe, or thereabouts, crumbled down with little more than touching it, and apparently showed us that there was a great deal of gold in it. We took it all carefully up, and, washing it in the water, the loamy earth washed away, and left the gold dust free in our hands; and that which was more remarkable, was, that

when this loose earth was all taken away, and we came to the rock or hard stone, there was not one grain of gold more to be found.

At night we came all together to see what we had got; and it appeared we had found, in that day's heap of earth, about fifty pound weight of gold dust, and about thirty-four pound more in all the rest of our works in the river.

It was a happy kind of disappointment to us, that we found a full stop put to our work; for, had the quantity of gold been ever so small, yet, had any at all come, I do not know when we should have given over; for, having rummaged this place, and not finding the least grain of gold in any other place, or in any of the earth there, except in that loose parcel, we went quite back down the small river again, working it over and over again, as long as we could find anything, how small soever; and we did get six or seven pound more the second time. Then we went into the first river, and tried it up the stream and down the stream, on the one side and on the other. Up the stream we found nothing, no not a grain; down the stream we found very little, not above the quantity of half an ounce in two miles working; so back we came again to the Golden river, as we justly called it, and worked it up the stream and down the stream twice more apiece, and every time we found some gold, and perhaps might have done so if we had stayed there till this time; but the quantity was at last so small, and the work so much the harder, that we agreed by consent to give it over, lest we should fatigue ourselves and our negroes so as to be quite unfit for our journey. When we had brought all our purchase together, we had in the whole three pound and a half of gold to a man, share and share alike, according to such a weight and scale as our ingenious cutler made for us to weigh it by, which he did indeed by guess, but which, as he said, he was sure was rather more than less, and so it proved at last; for it was near two ounces more than weight in a pound. Besides this, there was seven or eight pounds' weight left, which we agreed to leave in his hands, to work it into such shapes as we thought fit, to give away to such people as we might yet meet with, from whom we might have occasion to buy provisions, or even to buy friendship, or the like; and particularly we gave a pound to our black prince, which he hammered and worked by his own indefa-

tigable hand, and some tools our artificer lent him, into little round bits, as round almost as beads, though not exact in shape, and, drilling holes through them, put them all upon a string, and wore them about his black neck, and they looked very well there I assure you; but he was many months a-doing it. And thus ended our first golden adventure.

We now began to discover what we had not troubled our heads much about before; and that was, that let the country be good or bad that we were in, we could not travel much further for a considerable time. We had been now five months and upwards in our journey, and the seasons began to change; and nature told us, that, being in a climate that had a winter as well as a summer, though of a different kind from what our country produced, we were to expect a wet season, and such as we should not be able to travel in, as well by reason of the rain itself, as of the floods which it would occasion wherever we should come; and though we had been no strangers to those wet seasons in the island of Madagascar, yet we had not thought much of them since we began our travels; for, setting out when the sun was about the solstice, that is, when it was at the greatest northern distance from us, we had found the benefit of it in our travels. But now it drew near us apace, and we found it began to rain; upon which we called another general council, in which we debated our present circumstances, and, in particular, whether we should go forward, or seek for a proper place upon the bank of our Golden river, which had been so lucky to us, to fix our camp for the winter.

Upon the whole, it was resolved to abide where we were; and it was not the least part of our happiness that we did so, as shall appear in its place.

Having resolved upon this, our first measures were to set our negroes to work, to make huts or houses for our habitation; and this they did very dexterously, only that we changed the ground where we had at first intended it, thinking, as indeed it happened, that the river might reach it upon any sudden rain. Our camp was like a little town, in which our huts were in the centre, having one large one in the centre of them also, into which all our particular lodgings opened; so that none of us went into our apartments but through a public tent, where we all eat and drank together, and kept our councils and society; and our car-

penters made us tables, benches, and stools in abundance, as many as we could make use of.

We had no need of chimneys—it was hot enough without fire; but yet we found ourselves at last obliged to keep a fire every night upon a particular occasion; for, though we had in all other respects a very pleasant and agreeable situation, yet we were rather worse troubled with the unwelcome visits of wild beasts here than in the wilderness itself; for, as the deer and other gentle creatures came hither for shelter and food, so the lions and tigers, and leopards, haunted these places continually for prey.

When first we discovered this, we were so uneasy at it that we thought of removing our situation; but, after many debates about it, we resolved to fortify ourselves in such a manner as not to be in any danger from it, and this our carpenters undertook, who first palisadoed our camp quite round with long stakes (for we had wood enough), which stakes were not stuck in one by another, like pales, but in an irregular manner—a great multitude of them so placed that they took up near two yards in thickness, some higher, some lower, all sharpened at the top, and about a foot asunder; so that, had any creature jumped at them, unless he had gone clean over, which it was very hard to do, he would be hung upon twenty or thirty spikes.

The entrance into this had larger stakes than the rest, so placed before one another as to make three or four short turnings, which no four-footed beast bigger than a dog could possibly come in at; and that we might not be attacked by any multitude together, and consequently be alarmed in our sleep, as we had been, or be obliged to waste our ammunition, which we were very chary of, we kept a great fire every night without the entrance of our palisadoe, having a hut for our two sentinels to stand in free from the rain, just within the entrance, and right against the fire.

To maintain this fire we cut a prodigious deal of wood, and piled it up in a heap to dry, and, with the green boughs, made a second covering over our huts, so high and thick that it might cast the rain off from the first, and keep us effectually dry.

We had scarce finished all these works, but the rain came on so fierce, and so continued, that we had little time to stir abroad for food, except indeed that our negroes, who wore

no clothes, seemed to make nothing of the rain, though to us Europeans, in those hot climates, nothing is more dangerous.

We continued in this posture for four months—that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October; for, though the rains went off—at least the greatest violence of them—about the equinox, yet, as the sun was then just over our heads, we resolved to stay awhile till it had passed us a little to the southward.

During our encampment here, we had several adventures with the ravenous creatures of that country; and, had not our fire been always kept burning, I question much whether all our fence, though we strengthened it afterwards with twelve or fourteen rows of stakes or more, would have kept us secure. It was always in the night that we had the disturbance of them, and sometimes they came in such multitudes, that we thought all the lions and tigers, and leopards, and wolves of Africa, were come together to attack us. One night, being clear moonshine, one of our men being upon the watch, told us, he verily believed he saw ten thousand wild creatures, of one sort or another, pass by our little camp; and as soon as ever they saw the fire, they sheered off, but were sure to howl or roar, or whatever it was, when they were past.

The music of their voices was very far from being pleasant to us, and sometimes would be so very disturbing, that we could not sleep for it; and often our sentinels would call us, that were awake, to come and look at them. It was one windy tempestuous night, after a very rainy day, that we were indeed all called up; for such innumerable numbers of devilish creatures came about us, that our watch really thought they would attack us. They would not come on the side where the fire was; and though we thought ourselves secure everywhere else, yet we all got up, and took to our arms. The moon was near the full, but the air full of flying clouds, and a strange hurricane of wind, to add to the terror of the night; when, looking on the back part of our camp, I thought I saw a creature within our fortification, and so indeed he was, except his haunches; for he had taken a running leap, I suppose, and with all his might had thrown himself clear over our palisadoes, except one strong pile, which stood higher than the rest, and which had caught

hold of him, and by his weight he had hanged himself upon it, the spike of the pile running into his hinder-haunch or thigh, on the inside, and by that he hung growling and biting the wood for rage. I snatched up a lance from one of the negroes that stood just by me, and, running to him, struck it three or four times into him, and despatched him; being unwilling to shoot, because I had a mind to have a volley fired among the rest, which I could see standing without, as thick as a drove of bullocks going to a fair. I immediately called our people out, and showed them the object of terror which I had seen, and, without any farther consultation, fired a full volley among them, most of our pieces being loaden with three slugs or bullets apiece. It made a horrible clutter among them, and in general they all took to their heels, only that we could observe, that some walked off with more gravity and majesty than others, being not so much frightened at the noise and fire; and we could perceive that some were left upon the ground struggling as for life, but we durst not stir out to see what they were.

Indeed they stood so thick, and were so near us, that we could not well miss killing or wounding some of them, and we believed they had certainly the smell of us, and our victuals we had been killing; for we had killed a deer, and three or four of those creatures like goats, the day before; and some of the offal had been thrown out behind our camp; and this, we suppose, drew them so much about us; but we avoided it for the future.

Though the creatures fled, yet we heard a frightful roaring all night at the place where they stood, which we supposed was from some that were wounded; and, as soon as day came, we went out to see what execution we had done, and, indeed, it was a strange sight; there were three tigers and two wolves quite killed, besides the creature I had killed within our palisadoe, which seemed to be of an ill-gendered kind, between a tiger and a leopard. Besides this, there was a noble old lion alive, but with both his fore-legs broken, so that he could not stir away, and he had almost beat himself to death with struggling all night; and we found, that this was the wounded soldier that had roared so loud, and given us so much disturbance. Our surgeon, looking at him, smiled: Now, says he, if I could be sure this lion would be as grateful to me as one of his majesty's ancestors was to

Androcles, the Roman slave, I would certainly set both his legs again, and cure him. I had not heard the story of Androcles, so he told it me at large; but, as to the surgeon, we told him, he had no way to know whether the lion would be so or not, but to cure him first, and trust to his honour; but he had no faith; so, to despatch him, and put him out of his torment, he shot him into the head, and killed him, for which we called him the king-killer ever after.

Our negroes found no less than five of these ravenous creatures wounded and dropt at a distance from our quarters; whereof, one was a wolf, one a fine spotted young leopard, and the other were creatures that we knew not what to call them.

We had several more of these gentlefolks about after that, but no such general randezvous of them as that was any more; but this ill effect it had to us, that it frightened the deer and other creatures from our neighbourhood, of whose company we were much more desirous, and which were necessary for our subsistence: however, our negroes went out every day a-hunting, as they called it, with bow and arrow, and they scarce ever failed of bringing us home something or other; and particularly we found in this part of the country, after the rains had fallen some time, abundance of wildfowl, such as we have in England; duck, teal, widgeon, &c., some geese, and some kinds that we had never seen before, and we frequently killed them. Also we caught a great deal of fresh fish out of the river, so that we wanted no provision; if we wanted anything, it was salt to eat with our fresh meat, but we had a little left, and we used it sparingly; for as to our negroes they could not taste it, nor did they care to eat any meat that was seasoned with it.

The weather began now to clear up, the rains were down, and the floods abated, and the sun, which had passed our zenith, was gone to the southward a good way, so we proceeded on our way.

It was the 12th of October, or thereabouts, that we began to set forward; and, having an easy country to travel in, as well as to supply us with provisions, though still without inhabitants, we made more despatch, travelling sometimes, as we calculated it, twenty or twenty-five miles a day; nor did we halt anywhere in eleven days' march, one day excepted, which was to make a raft to carry us over a small

river, which, having been swelled with the rains, was not yet quite down.

When we were past this river, which by the way ran to the northward too, we found a great row of hills in our way: we saw indeed the country open to the right at a great distance; but, as we kept true to our course due west, we were not willing to go a great way out of our way, only to shun a few hills; so we advanced; but we were surprised, when, being not quite come to the top, one of our company, who, with two negroes, was got up before us, cried out, The Sea! the Sea! and fell a dancing and jumping, as signs of joy.

The gunner and I were most surprised at it, because we had but that morning been calculating, that we were then above a thousand miles from the sea-side, and that we could not expect to reach it till another rainy season would be upon us, so that, when our man cried out, The Sea, the gunner was angry, and said he was mad.

But we were both in the greatest surprise imaginable, when, coming to the top of the hill, and, though it was very high, we saw nothing but water, either before us, or to the right hand or the left, being a vast sea, without any bound but the horizon.

He went down the hill full of confusion of thought, not being able to conceive whereabouts we were, or what it must be, seeing by all our charts the sea was yet a vast way off.

It was not above three miles from the hill before we came to the shore, or water-edge of this sea, and there, to our further surprise, we found the water fresh and pleasant to drink; so that, in short, we knew not what course to take: the sea, as we thought it to be, put a full stop to our journey (I mean westward), for it lay just in the way. Our next question was, which hand to turn to, to the right or the left? but this was soon resolved; for, as we knew not the extent of it, we considered that our way, if it had been the sea really, must be to the north; and, therefore, if we went to the south now, it must be just so much out of our way at last. So, having spent a good part of the day in our surprise at the thing, and consulting what to do, we set forward to the north.

We travelled upon the shore of this sea full twenty-three days, before we could come to any resolution about what it was: at the end of which, early one morning, one of our

seamen cried out, Land! and it was no false alarm, for we saw plainly the tops of some hills at a very great distance, on the further side of the water, due west; but though this satisfied us that it was not the ocean, but an inland sea or lake, yet we saw no land to the northward, that is to say, no end of it; but were obliged to travel eight days more, and near a hundred miles further before we came to the end of it, and then we found this lake or sea ended in a very great river, which ran N. or N. by E. as the other river had done, which I mentioned before.

My friend the gunner, upon examining, said, that he believed that he was mistaken before, and that this was the river Nile, but was still of the mind that we were of before, that we should not think of a voyage into Egypt that way; so we resolved upon crossing this river, which, however, was not so easy as before, the river being very rapid, and the channel very broad.

It cost us, therefore, a week here to get materials to waft ourselves and cattle over this river; for though here were store of trees, yet there was none of any considerable growth, sufficient to make a canoe.

During our march on the edge of this bank, we met with great fatigue, and therefore travelled fewer miles in a day than before, there being such a prodigious number of little rivers that came down from the hills on the east side, emptying themselves into this gulf, all which waters were pretty high, the rains having been but newly over.

In the last three days of our travel we met with some inhabitants, but we found they lived upon the little hills, and not by the water-side; nor were we a little put to it for food in this march, having killed nothing, for four or five days, but some fish we caught out of the lake, and that not in such plenty as we found before.

But, to make us some amends, we had no disturbance upon all the shore of this lake, from any wild beasts; the only inconveniency of that kind was, that we met an ugly venomous, deformed kind of a snake or serpent in the wet grounds near the lake, that several times pursued us, as if it would attack us; and, if we struck, or threw anything at it, it would raise itself up, and hiss so loud that it might be heard a great way off; it had a hellish ugly deformed look

and voice, and our men would not be pursuaded but it was the devil, only that we did not know what business Satan could have there, where there were no people.

It was very remarkable that we had now travelled a thousand miles without meeting with any people, in the heart of the whole continent of Africa, where, to be sure, never man set his foot since the sons of Noah spread themselves over the face of the whole earth. Here also our gunner took an observation with his forestaff, to determine our latitude, and he found now, that, having marched about thirty-three days northward, we were in 6 degrees 22 minutes south latitude.

After having, with great difficulty, got over this river, we came into a strange wild country, that began a little to affright us; for though the country was not a desert of dry scalding sand, as that was we had passed before, yet it was mountainous, barren, and infinitely full of most furious wild beasts, more than any place we had past yet. There was indeed a kind of coarse herbage on the surface, and now and then a few trees or rather shrubs; but people we could see none, and we began to be in great suspense about victuals; for we had not killed a deer a great while, but had lived chiefly upon fish and fowl, always by the water-side, both which seemed to fail us now; and we were in the more consternation, because we could not lay in a stock here to proceed upon, as we did before, but were obliged to set out with scarcity, and without any certainty of a supply.

We had, however, no remedy but patience; and, having killed some fowls, and dried some fish, as much as, with short allowance, we reckoned would last us five days, we resolved to venture, and venture we did; nor was it without cause that we were apprehensive of the danger, for we travelled the five days, and met with neither fish, or fowl, or four-footed beast whose flesh was fit to eat; and we were in a most dreadful apprehension of being famished to death; on the sixth day we almost fasted, or, as we may say, we eat up all the scraps of what we had left, and at night lay down supperless upon our mats with heavy hearts, being obliged, the eighth day, to kill one of our poor faithful servants, the buffaloes, that carried our baggage; the flesh of this creature was very good, and so sparingly did we eat of it, that it lasted us all three days and a half, and was just spent; and

we were upon the point of killing another, when we saw before us a country that promised better, having high trees and a large river in the middle of it.

This encouraged us, and we quickened our march for the river side, though with empty stomachs, and very faint and weak; but, before we came to this river, we had the good hap to meet with some young deer, a thing we had long wished for. In a word, having shot three of them, we came to a full stop, to fill our bellies, and never gave the flesh time to cool before we eat it; nay, it was much we could stay to kill it, and had not eaten it alive, for we were, in short, almost famished.

Through all that inhospitable country, we saw continually lions, tigers, leopards, civet cats, and abundance of kinds of creatures that we did not understand; we saw no elephants, but every now and then we met with an elephant's tooth lying on the ground, and some of them lying, as it were, half buried by the length of time that they had lain there.

When we came to the shore of this river, we found it ran northerly still, as all the rest had done, but with this difference, that as the course of the other rivers were N. by E. or N.N.E. the course of this lay N.N.W.

CHAPTER VIII.

WE REACH INHABITED LAND—THE NATIVES INNOCENT AND FRIENDLY—WE ENTER UPON A SECOND DESERT—THE SPRINGS AS SALT AS BRINE—OUR SURGEON DISCOVERS A MODE OF RENDERING THE WATER FRESH—PROCEEDINGS ON OUR MARCH—OUR TROOP BEGIN TO GROW SICKLY. AND ONE NEGRO DIES—FURTHER ADVENTURES—WE DISCOVER A WHITE MAN, PERFECTLY NAKED, IN THE NEGRO COUNTRY, WHO PROVES TO BE AN ENGLISHMAN.

On the further bank of this river we saw some sign of inhabitants, but met with none for the first day; but the next day we came into an inhabited country, the people all negroes, and stark naked, without shame, both men and women.

We made signs of friendship to them, and found them a very frank, civil, and friendly sort of people. They came to

our negroes without any suspicion, nor did they give us any reason to suspect them of any villany, as the others had done; we made signs to them that we were hungry, and immediately some naked women ran and fetched us great quantities of roots, and of things like pumpkins, which we made no scruple to eat; and our artificer showed them some of his trinkets that he had made, some of iron, some of silver, but none of gold: they had so much judgment as to choose those of silver before the iron; but when we showed them some gold, we found they did not value it so much as either of the other.

For some of these things they brought us more provisions, and three living creatures as big as calves, but not of that kind; neither did we ever see any of them before; their flesh was very good; and after that they brought us twelve more, and some smaller creatures, like hares; all which were very welcome to us, who were indeed at a very great loss for provisions.

We grew very intimate with these people, and indeed they were the civilest and most friendly people that we met with at all, and mightily pleased with us; and, which was very particular, they were much easier to be made to understand our meaning than any we had met with before.

At last, we began to inquire our way, pointing to the west: they made us understand easily that we could not go that way, but they pointed to us, that we might go northwest, so that we presently understood that there was another lake in our way, which proved to be true; for in two days more we saw it plain, and it held us till we past the equinoctial line, lying all the way on our left hand, though at a great distance.

Travelling thus northward, our gunner seemed very anxious about our proceedings; for he assured us, and made me sensible of it by the maps which he had been teaching me out of, that when we came into the latitude of six degrees, or thereabouts, north of the line, the land trenched away to the west, to such a length, that we should not come at the sea under a march of above fifteen hundred miles further westward than the country we desired to go to. I asked him if there were no navigable rivers that we might meet with, which, running into the west ocean, might perhaps carry us down their stream, and then, if it were fifteen hundred miles, or

twice fifteen hundred miles, we might do well enough, if we could but get provisions.

Here he showed me the maps again, and that there appeared no river whose stream was of such a length as to do any kindness, till we came perhaps within two or three hundred miles of the shore, except the Rio Grand, as they call it, which lay further northward from us, at least seven hundred miles; and that then he knew not what kind of country it might carry us through; for he said it was his opinion, that the heats on the north of the line, even in the same latitude, were violent, and the country more desolate, barren, and barbarous than those of the south; and that, when we came among the negroes in the north part of Africa, next the sea, especially those who had seen and trafficked with the Europeans, such as Dutch, English, Portuguese, Spaniards, &c., they had most of them been so ill used at some time or other, that they would certainly put all the spite they could upon us in mere revenge.

Upon these considerations, he advised us, that, as soon as we had passed this lake, we should proceed W.S.W., that is to say, a little inclining to the south, and that in time we should meet with the great river Congo, from whence the coast is called Congo, being a little north of Angola, where we intended at first to go.

I asked him, if ever he had been on the coast of Congo? He said, yes, he had, but was never on shore there. Then I asked him, how we should get from thence to the coast where the European ships came, seeing, if the land trenched away west for fifteen hundred miles, we must have all that shore to traverse, before we could double the west point of it?

He told me, it was ten to one but we should hear of some European ships to take us in, for that they often visited the coast of Congo and Angola, in trade with the negroes; and that if we could not, yet, if we could but find provisions, we should make our way as well along the sea-shore as along the river, till we came to the gold coast, which, he said, was not above four or five hundred miles north of Congo, besides the turning of the coast west about three hundred more; that shore being in the latitude of 6 or 7 degrees, and that there the English, or Dutch, or French, had settlements or factories, perhaps all of them.

I confess I had more mind, all the while he argued, to have gone northward, and shipped ourselves in the Rio Grand, or, as the traders call it, the river Negro, or Niger, for I knew that at last it would bring us down to the Cape de Verd, where we were sure of relief; whereas at the coast we were going to now we had a prodigious way still to go, either by sea or land, and no certainty which way to get provisions but by force; but for the present I held my tongue, because it was my tutor's opinion.

But when, according to his desire, we came to turn southward, having passed beyond the second great lake, our men began all to be uneasy, and said we were now out of our way for certain, for that we were going farther from home, and that we were indeed far enough off already.

But we had not marched above twelve days more, eight whereof was taken up in rounding the lake, and four more south-west, in order to make for the river Congo, but we were put to another full stop, by entering a country so desolate, so frightful, and so wild, that we knew not what to think or do; for, besides that it appeared as a terrible and boundless desert, having neither woods, trees, rivers, nor inhabitants, so even the place where we were was desolate of inhabitants, nor had we any way to gather in a stock of provisions for the passing of this desert, as we did before at our entering the first, unless we had marched back four days to the place where we turned the head of the lake.

Well, notwithstanding this, we ventured; for, to men that had passed such wild places as we had done, nothing could seem too desperate to undertake: we ventured, I say, and the rather because we saw very high mountains in our way at a great distance, and we imagined wherever there were mountains there would be springs and rivers; where rivers there would be trees and grass; where trees and grass there would be cattle; and where cattle some kind of inhabitants.

At last, in consequence of this speculative philosophy, we entered this waste, having a great heap of roots and plants for our bread, such as the Indians gave us, a very little flesh, or salt, and but a little water.

We travelled two days towards those hills, and still they seemed as far off as they did at first, and it was the fifth day before we got to them; indeed, we travelled softly, for it was excessively hot, and we were much about the very equi-

noctial line—we hardly knew whether to the south or the north of it.

As we had concluded, that where there were hills there would be springs, so it happened; but we were not only surprised, but really frightened, to find the first spring we came to, and which looked admirably clear and beautiful, to be salt as brine. It was a terrible disappointment to us, and put us under melancholy apprehensions at first; but the gunner, who was of a spirit never discouraged, told us we should not be disturbed at that, but be very thankful, for salt was a bait we stood in as much need of as anything, and there was no question but we should find fresh water as well as salt; and here our surgeon stept in to encourage us, and told us that, if we did not know, he would show us a way how to make that salt water fresh, which indeed made us all more cheerful, though we wondered what he meant.

Meantime our men, without bidding, had been seeking about for other springs, and found several; but still they were all salt; from whence we concluded, that there was a salt rock or mineral stone in those mountains, and perhaps they might be all of such a substance; but still I wondered by what witchcraft it was that our artist, the surgeon, would make this salt water turn fresh; and I longed to see the experiment, which was indeed a very odd one; but he went to work with as much assurance as if he had tried it on the very spot before.

He took two of our large mats, and sewed them together; and they made a kind of a bag four feet broad, three feet and a half high, and about a foot and a half thick when it was full.

He caused us to fill this bag with dry sand, and tread it down as close as we could, not to burst the mats. When thus the bag was full within a foot, he sought some other earth, and filled up the rest with it, and still trod all in as hard as he could. When he had done, he made a hole in the upper earth, about as broad as the crown of a large hat, or something bigger, but not so deep, and bade a negro fill it with water, and still, as it shrunk away, to fill it again, and keep it full. The bag he had placed at first across two pieces of wood, about a foot from the ground; and under it he ordered some of our skins to be spread, that would hold water. In about an hour, and not sooner, the water began

to come dropping through the bottom of the bag, and, to our great surprise, was perfectly fresh and sweet; and this continued for several hours: but in the end the water began to be a little brackish. When we told him that, Well then, said he, turn the sand out and fill it again. Whether he did this by way of experiment from his own fancy, or whether he had seen it done before, I do not remember.

The next day we mounted the tops of the hills, where the prospect was indeed astonishing; for, as far as the eye could look, south, or west, or north-west, there was nothing to be seen but a vast howling wilderness, with neither tree or river, or any green thing. The surface we found, as the part we passed the day before, had a kind of thick moss upon it, of a blackish dead colour, but nothing in it that looked like food, either for man or beast.

Had we been stored with provisions to have entered for ten or twenty days upon this wilderness, as we were formerly, and with fresh water, we had hearts good enough to have ventured, though we had been obliged to come back again; for, if we went north, we did not know but we might meet with the same; but we neither had provisions, neither were we in any place where it was possible to get them. We killed some wild ferine creatures at the foot of these hills: but, except two things, like to nothing that we ever saw before, we met with nothing that was fit to eat. These were creatures that seemed to be between a kind of buffalo and a deer, but indeed resembled neither; for they had no horns, and had great legs like a cow, with a fine head, and the neck like a deer. We killed also, at several times, a tiger, two young lions, and a wolf: but God be thanked, we were not so reduced as to eat carrion.

Upon this terrible prospect, I renewed my motion of turning northward, and, making towards the river Niger or Rio Grand, then to turn west towards the English settlements on the gold coast, to which every one most readily consented, only our gunner, who was indeed our best guide, though he happened to be mistaken at this time. He moved, that, as our coast was now northward, so we might slant away north-west, that so, by crossing the country, we might perhaps meet with some other river that ran into the Rio Grand northward, or down to the gold coast southward, and so both direct our way, and shorten the labour; as also

because, if any of the country was inhabited and fruitful, we should probably find it upon the shore of the rivers, where alone we could be furnished with provisions.

This was good advice, and too rational not to be taken; but our present business was, what to do to get out of this dreadful place we were in. Behind us was a waste, which had already cost us five days' march, and we had not provisions for five days left, to go back again the same way. Before us was nothing but horror, as above: so we resolved, seeing the ridge of the hills we were upon had some appearance of fruitfulness, and that they seemed to lead away to the northward a great way, to keep under the foot of them on the east side, to go on as far as we could, and in the mean time to look diligently out for food.

Accordingly we moved on the next morning; for we had no time to lose, and, to our great comfort we came, in our first morning's march, to very good springs of fresh water; and, lest we should have a scarcity again, we filled all our bladder-bottles, and carried it with us. I should also have observed, that our surgeon, who made the salt water fresh, took the opportunity of those salt springs, and made us the quantity of three or four pecks of very good salt.

In our third march we found an unexpected supply of food, the hills being full of hares; they were of a kind something different from ours in England, larger, and not so swift of foot, but very good meat. We shot several of them, and the little tame leopard, which I told you we took at the negro town that we plundered, hunted them like a dog, and killed us several every day; but she would eat nothing of them unless we gave it her, which indeed in our own circumstances was very obliging. We salted them a little, and dried them in the sun whole, and carried a strange parcel along with us. I think it was almost three hundred; for we did not know when we might find any more, either of these, or any other food. We continued our course under these hills very comfortably eight or nine days, when we found, to our great satisfaction, the country beyond us began to look with something of a better countenance. As for the west side of the hills, we never examined it till this day, when three of our company, the rest halting for refreshment, mounted the hills again to satisfy their curiosity, but found it all the same; nor could they see any end of it, not even to

the north, the way we were going; so the tenth day, finding the hills made a turn, and led, as it were, into the vast desert, we left them, and continued our course north, the country being very tolerably full of woods, some waste, but not tediously long, till we came, by our gunner's observation, into the latitude of 8 degrees 5 minutes, which we were nineteen days in performing.

All this way we found no inhabitants, but abundance of wild ravenous creatures, with which we became so well acquainted now, that really we did not much mind them. We saw lions, and tigers, and leopards, every night and morning in abundance; but, as they seldom came near us, we let them go about their business; if they offered to come near us, we made false fire with any gun that was uncharged and they would walk off as soon as they saw the flash.

We made pretty good shift for food all this way; for sometimes we killed hares, sometimes some fowls, but for my life I cannot give names to any of them, except a kind of partridge, and another that was like our turtle. Now and then we began to meet with elephants again in great numbers; those creatures delighted chiefly in the woody part of the country.

This long-continued march fatigued us very much, and two of our men fell sick, indeed so very sick that we thought they would have died; and one of our negroes died suddenly. Our surgeon said it was an apoplexy, but he wondered at it, he said, for he could never complain of his high feeding. Another of them was very ill, but our surgeon with much ado persuading him, indeed it was almost forcing him, to be bled, he recovered.

We halted here twelve days for the sake of our sick men, and our surgeon persuaded me, and three or four more of us, to be bled during the time of rest, which, with other things he gave us, contributed very much to our continued health, in so tedious a march, and in so hot a climate.

In this march we pitched our matted tents every night, and they were very comfortable to us, though we had trees and woods to shelter us also in most places. We thought it very strange, that in all this part of the country we yet met with no inhabitants; but the principal reason, as we found afterwards, was, that we, having kept a western course first, and then a northern course, were gotten too much into the

middle of the country, and among the deserts: whereas the inhabitants are principally found among the rivers, lakes, and low-lands, as well to the south-west as to the north.

What little rivulets we found here were so empty of water, that, except some pits, and little more than ordinary pools, there was scarce any water to be seen in them; and they rather showed, that, during the rainy months, they had a channel, than that they had really any running water in them at that time: by which it was easy for us to judge, that we had a great way to go; but this was no discouragement so long as we had but provisions, and some reasonable shelter from the violent heat, which indeed I thought was greater now than when the sun was just over our heads.

Our men being recovered, we set forward again, very well stored with provisions, and water sufficient, and, bending our course a little to the westward of the north, travelled in hopes of some favourable stream which might bear a canoe; but we found none till after twenty days' travel, including eight days' rest; for our men being weak, we rested very often, especially when we came to places which were proper for our purposes, where we found cattle, fowl, or anything to kill for food. In those twenty days' march, we advanced four degrees to the northward, besides some meridian distance westward, and we met with abundance of elephants' teeth scattered up and down, here and there, in the woody grounds especially, some of which were very large. But they were no booty to us; our business was provisions, and a good passage out of the country; and it had been much more to our purpose, to have found a good fat deer, and to have killed it for our food, than a hundred ton of elephants' teeth; and yet, as you shall presently hear, when we came to begin our passage by water, we once thought to have built a large canoe, on purpose to have loaded it with ivory; but this was when we knew nothing of the rivers, nor knew anything how dangerous and how difficult a passage it was that we were likely to have in them, nor had considered the weight of carriage to lug them to the rivers where we might embark.

At the end of twenty days' travels, as above, in the latitude of 3 degrees 16 minutes, we discovered in a valley, at some distance from us, a pretty tolerable stream, which we thought deserved the name of a river, and which ran its course N.N.W. which was just what we wanted. As we

had fixed our thoughts upon our passage by water, we took this for the place to make our experiment, and bent our march directly to the valley.

There was a small thicket of trees just in our way, which we went by, thinking no harm, when on a sudden one of our negroes was very dangerously wounded with an arrow, shot into his back, slanting between his shoulders. This put us to a full stop; and three of our men, with two negroes, spreading the wood, for it was but a small one, found a negro with a bow, but no arrow, who would have escaped, but our men that discovered him, shot him in revenge of the mischief he had done; so we lost the opportunity of taking him prisoner, which, if we had done, and sent him home with good usage, it might have brought others to us in a friendly manner.

Going a little farther, we came to five negro huts or houses, built after a different manner from any we had seen yet; and at the door of one of them lay seven elephants' teeth, piled up against the wall or side of the hut, as if they had been provided against a market: here were no men, but seven or eight women, and near twenty children: we offered them no uncivility of any kind, but gave them every one a bit of silver beaten out thin, as I observed before, and cut diamond-fashion, or in the shape of a bird; at which the women were overjoyed, and brought out to us several sorts of food, which we did not understand, being cakes of a meal made of roots, which they bake in the sun, and which eat very well. We went a little way farther, and pitched our camp for that night, not doubting but our civility to the women would produce some good effect, when their husbands might come home.

Accordingly, the next morning, the women, with eleven men, five young boys, and two good big girls, came to our camp; before they came quite to us, the women called aloud, and made an odd screaming noise, to bring us out; and accordingly we came out, when two of the women, showing us what we had given them, and pointing to the company behind, made such signs as we could easily understand signified friendship. When the men advanced, having bows and arrows, they laid them down on the ground, scraped, and threw sand over their heads, and turned round three times, with their hands laid up upon the tops of their heads. This, it seems, was a solemn vow of friend-

ship. Upon this we beckoned them with our hands to come nearer; then they sent the boys and girls to us first, which, it seems, was to bring us more cakes of bread, and some green herbs, to eat, which we received, and took the boys up and kissed them, and the little girls too; then the men came up close to us, and sat them down on the ground, making signs, that we should sit down by them, which we did. They said much to one another, but we could not understand them, nor could we find any way to make them understand us; much less whither we were going, or what we wanted, only that we easily made them understand we wanted victuals: whereupon one of the men casting his eyes about him towards a rising ground that was about half a mile off, started up as if he was frightened, flew to the place where they had laid down their bows and arrows, snatched up a bow and two arrows, and ran like a racehorse to the place: when he came there, he let fly both his arrows, and came back again to us with the same speed; we seeing he came with the bow, but without the arrows, were the more inquisitive, but the fellow saying nothing to us, beckons to one of our negroes to come to him, and we bid him go; so he led him back to the place, where lay a kind of a deer, shot with two arrows, but not quite dead; and between them they brought it down to us. This was for a gift to us, and was very welcome, I assure you, for our stock was low. These people were all stark naked.

The next day there came about a hundred men and women to us, making the same awkward signals of friendship, and dancing, and showing themselves very well pleased, and anything they had they gave us. How the man in the wood came to be so butcherly and rude as to shoot at our men, without making any breach first, we could not imagine; for the people were simple, plain, and inoffensive in all our other conversation with them.

From hence we went down the bank of the little river I mentioned, and where I found we should see whole nations of negroes; but whether friendly to us or not, that we could make no judgment of yet.

The river was of no use to us, as to the design of making canoes, a great while; and we traversed the country on the edge of it about five days more, when our carpenters, finding the stream increase, proposed to pitch our tents, and fall to

work to make canoes; but after we had begun the work, and cut down two or three trees, and spent five days in the labour, some of our men, wandering further down the river, brought us word that the stream rather decreased than increased, sinking away into the sands, or drying up by the heat of the sun; so that the river appeared not able to carry the least canoe that could be any way useful to us: so we were obliged to give over our enterprise, and move on.

In our further prospect this way we marched three days full west, the country on the north side being extraordinary mountainous, and more parched and dry than any we had seen yet; whereas, in the part which looks due west, we found a pleasant valley, running a great way between two great ridges of mountains. The hills looked frightful, being entirely bare of trees or grass, and even white with the dryness of the sand; but in the valley we had trees, grass, and some creatures that were fit for food, and some inhabitants.

We passed by some of their huts or houses, and saw people about them; but they ran up into the hills as soon as they saw us. At the end of this valley we met with a peopled country, and at first it put us to some doubt whether we should go among them or keep up towards the hills northerly; and as our aim was principally, as before, to make our way to the river Niger, we inclined to the latter, pursuing our course by the compass to the N.W. We marched thus without interruption seven days more, when we met with a surprising circumstance, much more desolate and disconsolate than our own, and which, in time to come, will scarce seem credible.

We did not much seek the conversing, or acquainting ourselves with the natives of the country, except where we found the want of them for our provision, or their direction for our way; so that, whereas we found the country here begin to be very populous, especially towards our left hand—that is, to the south—we kept at the more distance northerly, still stretching towards the west.

In this tract we found something or other to kill and eat, which always supplied our necessity, though not so well as we were provided in our first setting out. Being thus, as it were, pushing to avoid the peopled country, we at last came to a very pleasant, agreeable stream of water, not big enough

to be called a river, but running to the N.N.W., which was the very course we desired to go.

On the farthest bank of this brook, we perceived some huts of negroes, not many, and in a little low spot of ground, some maize, or Indian corn, growing, which intimated presently to us, that there were some inhabitants on that side, less barbarous than those we had met with in other places where we had been.

As we went forward, our whole caravan being in a body, our negroes, who were in the front, cried out that they saw a white man! We were not much surprised at first, it being, as we thought, a mistake of the fellows, and asked them what they meant, when one of them stept up to me, and, pointing to a hut on the other side of the hill, I was astonished to see a white man indeed, but stark naked, very busy near the door of his hut, and stooping down to the ground with something in his hand, as if he had been at some work, and, his back being towards us, he did not see us.

I gave notice to our negroes to make no noise, and waited till some more of our men were come up, to show the sight to them, that they might be sure I was not mistaken, and we were soon satisfied of the truth; for the man, having heard some noise, started up, and looked full at us, as much surprised, to be sure, as we were, but whether with fear or hope we then knew not.

As he discovered us, so did the rest of the inhabitants belonging to the huts about him, and all crowded together, looking at us at a distance: a little bottom, in which the brook ran, lying between us, the white man, and all the rest, as he told us afterwards, not knowing well whether they should stay or run away. However, it presently came into my thoughts that, if there were white men among them, it would be much easier for us to make them understand what we meant, as to peace or war, than we found it with others; so, tying a piece of white rag to the end of a stick, we sent two negroes with it to the bank of the water, carrying the pole up as high as they could. It was presently understood, and two of their men and the white man came to the shore on the other side.

However, as the white man spoke no Portuguese, they could understand nothing of one another but by signs; but our men made the white man understand that they had

white men with them too, at which they said the white man laughed. However, to be short, our men came back, and told us they were all good friends, and in about an hour four of our men, two negroes, and the black prince went to the river side, where the white man came to them.

They had not been half a quarter of an hour there, till a negro came running to me, and told me the white man was Inglese, as he called him: upon which I ran back, eagerly enough you may be sure, with him, and found, as he said, that he was an Englishman, upon which he embraced me very passionately, the tears running down his face. The first surprise of his seeing us was over before we came; but any one may conceive it by the brief account he gave us afterwards of his very unhappy circumstance, and of so unexpected a deliverance, such as perhaps never happened to any man in the world; for it was a million to one odds that ever he could have been relieved—nothing but an adventure that never was heard or read of before could have suited his case, unless heaven, by some miracle that never was to be expected, had acted for him.

He appeared to be a gentleman, not an ordinary-bred fellow, seaman, or labouring man; this showed itself in his behaviour, in the first moment of our conversing with him, and in spite of all the disadvantages of his miserable circumstances.

He was a middle-aged man, not above thirty-seven or thirty-eight, though his beard was grown exceedingly long, and the hair of his head and face strangely covered him to the middle of his back and breast; he was white, and his skin very fine, though discoloured, and in some places blistered, and covered with a brown blackish substance, scurfy, scaly, and hard, which was the effect of the scorching heat of the sun; he was stark naked, and had been so, as he told us, upwards of two years.

He was so exceedingly transported at our meeting with him, that he could scarce enter into any discourse at all with us for that day; and, when he could get away from us for a little, we saw him walking alone, and showing all the most extravagant tokens of an ungovernable joy; and even afterwards he was never without tears in his eyes for several days, upon the least word spoken by us of his circumstances, or by him of his deliverance.

We found his behaviour the most courteous and endearing I ever saw in any man whatever, and most evident tokens of a mannerly well-bred person appeared in all things he did or said; and our people were exceedingly taken with him. He was a scholar and a mathematician; he could not speak Portuguese indeed, but he spoke Latin to our surgeon, French to another of our men, and Italian to a third.

He had no leisure in his thoughts to ask us whence we came, whither we were going, or who we were; but would have it always as an answer to himself, that to be sure, wherever we were a-going, we came from heaven, and were sent on purpose to save him from the most wretched condition that ever man was reduced to.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISHMAN — AFTER RESTING THIRTEEN DAYS, WE SET FORWARD, TAKING OUR NEW COMRADE WITH US—WE ARRIVE AT ANOTHER RIVER YIELDING GOLD —GREAT SUCCESS OF OUR GOLD FISHING — CONCLUSION OF THIS JOURNEY, AND ACCOUNT OF MY ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

Our men pitching their camp on the bank of a little river opposite to him, he began to inquire what store of provisions we had, and how we proposed to be supplied; when he found that our store was but small, he said he would talk with the natives, and we should have provisions enough; for he said they were the most courteous, good-natured part of the inhabitants in all that part of the country, as we might suppose by his living so safe among them.

The first things this gentleman did for us were indeed of the greatest consequence to us; for, first, he perfectly informed us where we were, and which was the properest course for us to steer: secondly, he put us in a way how to furnish ourselves effectually with provisions; and, thirdly, he was our complete interpreter and peace-maker with all the natives, who now began to be very numerous about us; and who were a more fierce and politic people than those we had met with before; not so easily terrified with our arms as those, and not so ignorant as to give their provisions and corn for

our little toys, such, as I said before, our artificer made; but, as they had frequently traded and conversed with the Europeans on the coast, or with other negro nations that had traded and been concerned with them, they were the less ignorant and the less fearful, and consequently nothing was to be had from them but by exchange for such things as they liked.

This I say of the negro natives, which we soon came among; but as to these poor people that he lived among, they were not much acquainted with things, being at the distance of above three hundred miles from the coast, only that they found elephants' teeth upon the hills to the north, which they took and carried about sixty or seventy miles south, where other trading negroes usually met them, and gave them beads, glass, shells, and cowries for them, such as the English and Dutch, and other traders, furnish them with from Europe.

We now began to be more familiar with our new acquaintance; and, first, though we made but a sorry figure as to clothes ourselves, having neither shoe, or stocking, or glove, or hat, among us, and but very few shirts, yet as well as we could we clothed him; and first, our surgeon having scissors and razors, shaved him, and cut his hair; a hat, as I say, we had not in all our stores, but he supplied himself by making a cap of a piece of a leopard's skin, most artificially. As for shoes or stockings, he had gone so long without them, that he cared not even for the buskins and foot-gloves we wore, which I described above.

As he had been curious to hear the whole story of our travels, and was exceedingly delighted with the relation, so we were no less to know, and pleased with, the account of his circumstance, and the history of his coming to that strange place alone, and in that condition, which we found him in, as above. This account of his would indeed be, in itself, the subject of an agreeable history, and would be as long and as diverting as our own, having in it many strange and extraordinary incidents, but we cannot have room here to launch out into so long a digression: the sum of his history was this.

He had been a factor for the English Guinea company at Sierra Leon, or some other of their settlements which had been taken by the French, where he had been plundered of all his own effects, as well as of what was entrusted to him by the company. Whether it was, that the company did not

do him justice in restoring his circumstances, or in further employing him, he quitted their service, and was employed by those they called separate traders; and being afterwards out of employ there also, traded on his own account; when, passing unwarily into one of the company's settlements, he was either betrayed into the hands of some of the natives, or, some how or other, was surprised by them. However, as they did not kill him, he found means to escape from them at that time, and fled to another nation of the natives, who, being enemies to the other, entertained him friendly, and with them he lived some time; but not liking his quarters, or his company, he fled again, and several times changed his landlords; sometimes was carried by force, sometimes hurried by fear, as circumstances altered with him (the variety of which deserves a history by itself), till at last he had wandered beyond all possibility of return, and had taken up his abode where we found him, where he was well received by the petty king of the tribe he lived with; and he, in return, instructed him how to value the product of their labour, and on what terms to trade with those negroes who came up to them for teeth.

As he was naked, and had no clothes, so he was naked of arms for his defence, having neither gun, sword, staff, nor any instrument of war about him, no not to guard himself against the attacks of a wild beast, of which the country was very full. We asked him how he came to be so entirely abandoned of all concern for his safety? He answered, That to him, that had so often wished for death, life was not worth defending; and that, as he was entirely at the mercy of the negroes, they had much the more confidence in him, seeing he had no weapons to hurt them. As for wild beasts he was not much concerned about them; for he had scarcely ever gone from his hut; but if he did, the negro king and his men went all armed with bows and arrows, and lances, with which they would kill any of the ravenous creatures, lions as well as others; but that they seldom came abroad in the day; and if the negroes wander anywhere in the night, they always build a hut for themselves, and make a fire at the door of it, which is guard enough.

We inquired of him what we should next do towards getting to the seaside: he told us we were about a hundred and twenty English leagues from the coast, where almost all

the European settlements and factories were, and which is called the gold coast; but that there were so many different nations of negroes in the way, that it was ten to one if we were not either fought with continually, or starved for want of provisions: but that there were two other ways to go, which, if he had had any company to go with him, he had often contrived to make his escape by. The one was to travel full west, which though it was further to go, yet was not so full of people; and the people we should find would be so much the civiller to us, or be so much the easier to fight with; or, that the other way was, if possible, to get to the Rio Grand, and go down the stream in canoes. We told him, that was the way we had resolved on before we met with him; but then he told us there was a prodigious desert to go over, and as prodigious woods to go through, before we came to it, and that both together were at least twenty days' march for us, travel as hard as we could.

We asked him if there were no horses in the country, or asses, or even bullocks or buffaloes, to make use of in such a journey, and we showed him ours, of which we had but three left: he said no, all the country did not afford anything of that kind.

He told us that in this great wood there were immense numbers of elephants; and, upon the desert, great multitudes of lions, lynxes, tigers, leopards, &c.; and that it was to that wood, and to that desert, that the negroes went to get elephants' teeth, where they never failed to find a great number.

We inquired still more, and particularly the way to the gold coast, and if there were no rivers to ease us in our carriage; and told him as to the negroes fighting with us, we were not much concerned at that; nor were we afraid of starving, for, if they had any victuals among them, we would have our share of it; and, therefore, if he would venture to show us the way, we would venture to go; and as for himself, we told him we would live and die together, there should not a man of us stir from him.

He told us, with all his heart; if we resolved it, and would venture, we might be assured he would take his fate with us, and he would endeavour to guide us in such a way, as we should meet with some friendly savages who would use us well, and perhaps stand by us against some others, who

were less tractable; so, in a word, we all resolved to go full south for the gold coast.

The next morning he came to us again, and being all met in council, as we may call it, he began to talk very seriously with us; that, since we were now come, after a long journey, to a view of the end of our troubles, and had been so obliging to him as to offer to carry him with us, he had been all night revolving in his mind what he and we all might do to make ourselves some amends for all our sorrows; and, first, he said, he was to let me know, that we were just then in one of the richest parts of the world, though it was really, otherwise, but a desolate, disconsolate wilderness; for, says he, there is not a river but runs gold, not a desert but, without ploughing, bears a crop of ivory. What mines of gold, what immense stores of gold those mountains may contain, from whence these rivers come, or the shores which these waters run by, we know not, but may imagine that they must be inconceivably rich, seeing so much is washed down the stream by the water washing the sides of the land, that the quantity suffices all the traders which the European world send thither. We asked him how far they went for it, seeing the ships only trade upon the coast. He told us, that the negroes on the coast search the rivers up for the length of a hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, and would be out a month, or two or three, at a time, and always came home sufficiently rewarded; but, says he, they never come thus far, and yet hereabouts is as much gold as there. Upon this, he told us, that he believed he might have gotten a hundred pounds' weight of gold since he came hither, if he had employed himself to look and work for it, but as he knew not what to do with it, and had long since despaired of being ever delivered from the misery he was in, he had entirely omitted it. For what advantage had it been to me, said he, or what richer had I been, if I had a ton of gold dust, and lay and wallowed in it? The richness of it, said he, would not give me one moment's felicity, nor relieve me in the present exigency. Nay, says he, as you all see, it would not buy me clothes to cover me, or a drop of drink to save me from perishing. It is of no value here, says he; there are several people among these huts that would weigh gold against a few glass beads, or a cockle-shell, and give you a handful of gold dust for a handful of cowries.

N.B.—These are little shells, which our children call blackamoors' teeth.

When he had said this, he pulled out a piece of an earthern pot baked hard in the sun: here, says he, is some of the dirt of this country, and if I would, I could have got a great deal more; and showing it to us, I believe there was in it between two and three pounds' weight of gold dust, of the same kind and colour with that we had gotten already, as before. After we had looked at it awhile, he told us, smiling, we were his deliverers, and all he had, as well as his life, was ours; and therefore, as this would be of value to us when we came to our own country, so he desired we would accept of it among us, and that this was the only time that he had repented that he had picked up no more of it.

I spoke for him as his interpreter to my comrades, and in their names thanked him; but, speaking to them in Portuguese, I desired them to refer the acceptance of his kindness to the next morning; and so I did, telling him we would farther talk of this part in the morning; so we parted for that time.

When he was gone, I found they were all wonderfully affected with his discourse, and with the generosity of his temper, as well as the magnificence of his present, which in another place had been extraordinary. Upon the whole, not to detain you with circumstances, we agreed, that, seeing he was now one of our number, and that, as we were a relief to him in carrying him out of the dismal condition he was in, so he was equally a relief to us, in being our guide through the rest of the country, our interpreter with the natives, and our director how to manage with the savages, and how to enrich ourselves with the wealth of the country; that, therefore, we would put his gold among our common stock, and every one should give him as much as would make his up just as much as any single share of our own, and for the future we would take our lot together, taking his solemn engagement to us, as we had before one to another, that we would not conceal the least grain of gold we found one from another.

In the next conference, we acquainted him with the adventures of the Golden river, and how we had shared what we got there; so that every man had a larger stock than he for his share; that, therefore, instead of taking any from

him, we had resolved every one to add a little to him. He appeared very glad that we had met with such good success, but would not take a grain from us, till at last, pressing him very hard, he told us, that then he would take it thus: that when we came to get any more, he would have so much out of the first as should make him even, and then we should go on as equal adventurers; and thus we agreed.

He then told us, he thought it would not be an unprofitable adventure, if, before we set forward, and after we had got a stock of provisions, we should make a journey north to the edge of the desert he had told us of, from whence our negroes might bring every one a large elephant's tooth, and that he would get some more to assist; and that, after a certain length of carriage, they might be conveyed by canoes to the coast, where they would yield a very great profit.

I objected against this, on account of our other design we had of getting gold dust; and that our negroes, who we knew would be faithful to us, would get much more by searching the rivers for gold for us, than by lugging a great tooth of a hundred and fifty pounds' weight, a hundred miles or more, which would be an insufferable labour to them after so hard a journey, and would certainly kill them.

He acquiesced in the justice of this answer, but fain would have had us gone to see the woody part of the hill, and the edge of the desert, that we might see how the elephants' teeth lay scattered up and down there; but when we told him the story of what we had seen before, as is said above, he said no more.

We staid here twelve days, during which time the natives were very obliging to us, and brought us fruits, pompions, and a root like carrots, though of quite another taste, but not unpleasant neither, and some Guinea fowls, whose names we did not know. In short, they brought us plenty of what they had, and we lived very well, and we gave them all such little things as our cutler had made, for he had a whole bag full of them.

On the thirteenth day we set forward, taking our new gentleman with us. At parting, the negro king sent two savages with a present to him, of some dried flesh, but I do not remember what it was, and he gave them again three silver birds which our cutler helped him to, which I assure you was a present for a king.

We travelled now south, a little west, and here we found

the first river for above two thousand miles' march, whose water ran south, all the rest running north or west. We followed this river, which was no bigger than a good large brook in England, till it began to increase its water. Every now and then we found our Englishman went down, as it were, privately to the water, which was to try the sand. At length, after a day's march upon this river, he came running up to us with his hands full of sand, and saying, Look here. Upon looking, we found that a good deal of gold lay spangled among the sand of the river. Now, says he, I think we may begin to work; so he divided our negroes into couples, and set them to work, to search and wash the sand and ooze in the bottom of the water, where it was not deep.

In the first day and a quartér, our men altogether had gathered a pound and two ounces of gold, or thereabouts; and, as we found the quantity increased the farther we went, we followed it about three days, till another small rivulet ioined the first, and then, searching up the stream, we found gold there too; so we pitched our camp in the angle where the rivers joined, and we diverted ourselves, as I may call it, in washing the gold out of the sand of the river, and in getting provisions.

Here we staid thirteen days more, in which time we had many pleasant adventures with the savages, too long to mention here, and some of them too homely to tell of: for some of our men had made something free with their women, which, had not our new guide made peace for us with one of their men, at the price of seven bits of silver, which our artificer had cut out into the shapes of lions and fishes, and birds, and had punched holes to hang them up by (an inestimable treasure)! we must have gone to war with them and all their people.

All the while we were busy washing gold dust out of the rivers, and our negroes the like, our ingenious cutler was hammering and cutting, and he was grown so dexterous by use, that he formed all manner of images. He cut out elephants, tigers, civet cats, ostriches, eagles, cranes, fowls, fishes, and indeed whatever he pleased, in thin plates of hammered gold, for his silver and iron were almost all gone.

At one of the towns of these savage nations we were very friendly received by their king; and as he was very much taken with our workman's toys, he sold him an elephant cut out of a gold plate as thin as a sixpence at an extravagant

rate. He was so much taken with it that he would not be quiet till he had given him almost a handful of gold dust, as they call it. I suppose it might weigh three quarters of a pound; the piece of gold that the elephant was made of might be about the weight of a pistole, rather less than more. Our artist was so honest, though the labour and art were all his own, that he brought all the gold, and put it into our common stock; but we had indeed no manner of reason in the least to be covetous, for, as our new guide told us, we that were strong enough to defend ourselves, and had time enough to stay (for we were none of us in haste), might in time get together what quantity of gold we pleased, even to a hundred pounds weight a man if we thought fit; and, therefore, he told us, though he had as much reason to be sick of the country as any of us, yet, if we thought to turn our march a little to the south-east, and pitch upon a place proper for our head-quarters, we might find provisions plenty enough, and extend ourselves over the country among the rivers, for two or three years, to the right and left, and we should soon find the advantage of it.

The proposal, however good as to the profitable part of it, suited none of us, for we were all more desirous to get home than to be rich, being tired of the excessive fatigue of above a year's continual wandering among deserts and wild beasts.

However, the tongue of our new acquaintance had a kind of charm in it, and used such arguments, and had so much the power of persuasion, that there was no resisting him. He told us it was preposterous not to take the fruit of all our labours now we were come to the harvest; that we might see the hazard the Europeans ran, with ships and men, and at great expense, to fetch a little gold; and that we that were in the centre of it to go away empty-handed was unaccountable; that we were strong enough to fight our way through whole nations, and might make our journey afterward to what part of the coast we pleased; and we should never forgive ourselves when we came to our own country, to see we had five hundred pistoles in gold, and might as easily have had five thousand or ten thousand, or what we pleased; that he was no more covetous than we, but, seeing it was in all our powers to retrieve our misfortunes at once, and make ourselves easy for all our lives, he could not be faithful to us, or grateful for the good we

had done him, if he did not let us see the advantage we had in our hands; and he assured us he would make it clear to our own understanding that we might, in two years' time, by good management, and by the help of our negroes, gather every man a hundred pounds' weight of gold, and get together perhaps two hundred tons of teeth; whereas, if once we pushed on to the coast, and separated, we should never be able to see that place again with our eyes, or do any more than sinners did with heaven—wish themselves there, but know they can never come at it.

Our surgeon was the first man that yielded to his reasoning, and after him the gunner; and they two indeed had a great influence over us, but none of the rest had any mind to stay, nor I either, I must confess; for I had no notion of a great deal of money, or what to do with myself, or what to do with it if I had it. I thought I had enough already, and all the thought I had about disposing of it, if I came to Europe, was only how to spend it as fast as I could, buy me some clothes, and go to sea again, to be a drudge for more.

However, he prevailed with us by his good words, at last, to stay but for six months in the country, and then, if we did resolve to go, he would submit: so at length we yielded to that, and he carried us about fifty English miles south-east, where we found several rivulets of water, which seemed to come all from a great ridge of mountains which lay to the north-east, and which, by our calculation, must be the beginning that way of the great waste, which we had been forced northward to avoid.

Here we found the country barren enough; but yet we had, by his directions, plenty of food; for the savages round us, upon giving them some of our toys, as I have so often mentioned, brought us in whatever they had; and here we found some maize, or Indian wheat, which the negro-women planted, as we sow seeds in a garden, and immediately our new providitor ordered some of our negroes to plant it, and it grew up presently, and, by watering it often, we had a crop in less than three months' growth.

As soon as we were settled, and our camp fixed, we fell to the old trade of fishing for gold in the rivers mentioned above, and our English gentleman so well knew how to direct our search, that we scarce ever lost our labour.

One time, having set us to work, he asked, if we would

give him leave, with four or five negroes, to go out for six or seven days, to seek his fortune, and see what he could discover in the country, assuring us, whatever he got should be for the public stock. We all gave him our consent, and lent him a gun; and two of our men desiring to go with him, they took then six negroes with them, and two of our buffaloes that came with us the whole journey; they took about eight days' provision of bread with them, but no flesh, except about as much dried flesh as would serve them two days.

They travelled up to the top of the mountains I mentioned just now, where they saw (as our men afterwards vouched it to be) the same desert which we were so justly terrified at, when we were on the further side, and which, by our calculation, could not be less than three hundred miles broad, and above six hundred miles in length, without knowing where it ended.

The journal of their travels is too long to enter upon here; they stayed out two and fifty days, when they brought us seventeen pounds, and something more (for we had no exact weight), of gold dust, some of it in much larger pieces than any we found before; besides about fifteen ton of elephants' teeth, which he had, partly by good usage, and partly by bad, obliged the savages of the country to fetch, and bring down to him from the mountains, and which he made others bring with him quite down to our camp. Indeed we wondered what was coming to us, when we saw him attended with above two hundred negroes; but he soon undeceived us, when he made them all throw down their burthens on a heap, at the entrance of our camp.

Besides this, they brought lions' skins, and five leopards' skins, very large and very fine. He asked our pardon for his long stay, and that he had made no greater a booty, but told us, he had one excursion more to make, which he hoped should turn to a better account.

So, having rested himself, and rewarded the savages that brought the teeth for him, with some bits of silver and iron cut out diamond-fashion, and with two shaped like little dogs, he sent them away mightily pleased.

The second journey he went, some more of our men desired to go with him, and they made a troop of ten white men, and ten savages, and the two buffaloes to carry their

provisions and ammunition. They took the same course, only not exactly the same track, and they stayed thirty-two days only, in which time they killed no less than fifteen leopards, three lions, and several other creatures, and brought us home four and twenty pounds some ounces of gold dust, and only six elephants' teeth, but they were very great ones.

Our friend the Englishman showed us now, that our time was well bestowed; for in five months, which we had stayed here, we had gathered so much gold dust, that, when we came to share it, we had five pounds and a quarter to a man, besides what we had before, and besides six or seven pounds' weight which we had at several times given to our artificer to make baubles with; and now we talked of going forward to the coast, to put an end to our journey; but our guide laughed at us then: nay, you cannot go now, says he, for the rainy season begins next month, and there will be no stirring then. This we found indeed reasonable, so we resolved to furnish ourselves with provisions, that we might not be obliged to go abroad too much in the rain, and we spread ourselves, some one way, and some another, as far as we cared to venture, to get provisions, and our negroes killed us some deer, which we cured, as well as we could, in the sun, for we had no salt.

By this time the rainy months were set in, and we could scarce, for above two months, look out of our huts. But that was not all, for the rivers were so swelled with the landfloods, that we scarce knew the little brooks and rivulets from the great navigable rivers. This had been a very good opportunity to have conveyed by water, upon rafts, our elephants' teeth, of which we had a very great pile; for, as we always gave the savages some reward for their labour, the very women would bring us teeth upon every opportunity, and sometimes a great tooth carried between two; so that our quantity was increased to about two and twenty tons of teeth.

As soon as the weather proved fair again, he told us he would not press us to any farther stay, since we did not care whether we got any more gold or not: that we were indeed the first men he ever met with in his life, that said they had gold enough, and of whom it might be truly said that, when it lay under our feet, we would not stoop to

take it up. But since he had made us a promise, he would not break it, nor press us to make any farther stay, only he thought he ought to tell us, that now was the time, after the landflood, when the greatest quantity of gold was found; and that, if we stayed but one month, we should see thousands of savages spread themselves over the whole country, to wash the gold out of the sand, for the European ships which would come on the coast; that they do it then, because the rage of the floods always works down a great deal of gold out of the hills; and if we took the advantage to be there before them, we did not know what extraordinary things we might find.

This was so forcible, and so well argued, that it appeared in all our faces we were prevailed upon; so we told him we would all stay; for, though it was true we were all eager to be gone, yet the evident prospect of so much advantage could not be well resisted—that he was greatly mistaken when he suggested that we did not desire to increase our store of gold, and in that we were resolved to make the utmost use of the advantage that was in our hands, and would stay as long as any gold was to be had, if it was another year.

He could hardly express the joy he was in on this occasion; and the fair weather coming on, we began, just as he directed, to search about the rivers for more gold. At first we had but little encouragement, and began to be doubtful; but it was very plain that the reason was, the water was not fully fallen, or the rivers reduced to their usual channel. But in a few days we were fully requited, and found much more gold than at first, and in bigger lumps; and one of our men washed out of the sand a piece of gold as big as a small nut, which weighed, by our estimation, for we had no small weights, almost an ounce and a half.

This success made us extremely diligent, and in a little more than a month we had altogether gotten near sixty pounds' weight of gold; but after this, as he told us, we found abundance of the savages, men, women, and children, hunting every river and brook, and even the dry land of the hills, for gold, so that we could do nothing like then, compared to what we had done before.

But our artificer found a way to make other people find

us in gold without our own labour; for, when these people began to appear, he had a considerable quantity of his toys, birds, beasts, &c., such as before, ready for them, and, the English gentleman being the interpreter, he brought the savages to admire them; so our cutler had trade enough, and, to be sure, sold his goods at a monstrous rate, for he would get an ounce of gold, sometimes two, for a bit of silver, perhaps of the value of a groat—nay, if it were iron—and if it were of gold, they would not give the more for it; and it was incredible almost to think what a quantity of gold he got that way.

In a word, to bring this happy journey to a conclusion, we increased our stock of gold here, in three months' stay more, to such a degree that, bringing it all to a common stock, in order to share it, we divided almost four pounds' weight again to every man; and then we set forward for the gold coast, to see what method we could find out for our passage into Europe.

There happened several very remarkable incidents in this part of our journey, as to how we were, or were not, received friendly by the several nations of savages through which we passed; how we delivered one negro king from captivity, who had been a benefactor to our new guide; and how our guide, in gratitude, by our assistance, restored him to his kingdom, which, perhaps, might contain about three hundred subjects; how he entertained us; and how he made his subjects go with our Englishman, and fetch all our elephants' teeth which we had been obliged to leave behind us, and to carry them for us to the river, the name of which I forgot, where we made rafts, and in eleven days more came down to one of the Dutch settlements on the gold coast, where we arrived in perfect health, and to our great satisfaction. As for our cargo of teeth, we sold it to the Dutch factory, and received clothes and other necessaries for ourselves, and such of our negroes as we thought fit to keep with us; and it is to be observed that we had four pounds of gunpowder left when we ended our journey. The negro prince we made perfectly free, clothed him out of our common stock, and gave him a pound and a half of gold for himself, which he knew very well how to manage; and here we all parted after the most friendly manner possible. Our Englishman remained in the Dutch factory some time, and,

as I heard afterwards, died there of grief; for he having sent a thousand pounds sterling over to England, by the way of Holland, for his refuge at his return to his friends, the ship was taken by the French, and the effects all lost.

The rest of my comrades went away, in a small bark, to the two Portuguese factories, near Gambia, in the latitude of 14 degrees; and I, with two negroes which I kept with me, went away to Cape Coast Castle, where I got passage for England, and arrived there in September; and thus ended my first harvest of wild oats; the rest were not sowed to so much advantage.

CHAPTER X.

I FALL INTO BAD COMPANY IN ENGLAND, AND SPEND MY MONEY—I SHIP MYSELF ON A VOYAGE TO CADIZ—THE COMPANY I MET THERE—TURN PIRATE—ADVENTURES—ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM WALTERS, AND OF OUR EXPEDITIONS.

I HAD neither friend, relation, nor acquaintance in England, though it was my native country: I had consequently no person to trust with what I had, or to counsel me to secure or save it; but, falling into ill company, and trusting the keeper of a public-house in Rotherhithe with a great part of my money, and hastily squandering away the rest, all that great sum, which I got with so much pains and hazard, was gone in little more than two years' time; and, as I even rage in my own thoughts to reflect upon the manner how it was wasted, so I need record no more: the rest merits to be concealed with blushes, for that it was spent in all kinds of folly and wickedness; so this scene of my life may be said to have begun in theft and ended in luxury; a sad setting-out, and a worse coming home.

About the year 1686, I began to see the bottom of my stock, and that it was time to think of farther adventures; for my spoilers, as I call them, began to let me know, that as my money declined, their respect would ebb with it, and that I had nothing to expect of them farther than as I might command it by the force of my money, which, in short, would not go an inch the farther for all that had been spent in their favour before.

This shocked me very much, and I conceived a just abhorrence of their ingratitude; but it wore off; nor had I met with any regret at the wasting so glorious a sum of money, as I brought to England with me.

I next shipped myself, in an evil hour to be sure, on a voyage to Cadiz, in a ship called the Cruizer, and in the course of our voyage, being on the coast of Spain, was obliged to put into the Groyn, by a strong south-west wind.

Here I fell into company with some masters of mischief; and, among them, one forwarder than the rest, began an intimate confidence with me, so that we called one another brothers, and communicated all our circumstances to one another: his name was Harris. This fellow came to me one morning, asking me if I would go on shore? and I agreed; so we got the captain's leave for the boat, and went together. When we were together, he asked me if I had a mind for an adventure that might make amends for all past misfortunes? I told him, Yes, with all my heart; for I did not care where I went, having nothing to loose, and nobody to leave behind me.

He then asked me if I would swear to be secret, and that, if I did not agree to what he proposed, I would nevertheless never betray him? I readily bound myself to that, upon the most solemn imprecations and curses that the devil and both of us could invent.

He told me then, there was a brave fellow in the other ship, pointing to another English ship which rode in the harbour, who, in concert with some of the men, had resolved to mutiny the next morning, and run away with the ship; and that, if we could get strength enough among our ship's company, we might do the same. I liked the proposal very well, and he got eight of us to join with him; and he told us, that as soon as his friend had begun the work, and was master of the ship, we should be ready to do the like. This was his plot; and I, without the least hesitation, either at the villany of the fact, or the difficulty of performing it, came immediately into the wicked conspiracy, and so it went on among us; but we could not bring our part to perfection.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, his correspondent in the other ship, whose name was Wilmot, began the work, and, having seized the captain's mate, and other officers, secured the ship, and gave the signal to us. We were but

eleven in our ship, who were in the conspiracy; nor could we get any more that we could trust; so that, leaving the ship, we all took the boat, and went off to join the other.

Having thus left the ship I was in, we were entertained with a great deal of joy by Captain Wilmot and his new gang; and, being prepared for all manner of roguery, bold, desperate, I mean myself, without the least checks of conscience for what I was entered upon, or for anything I might do, much less with any apprehension of what might be the conseqence of it; I say, having thus embarked with this crew, which at last brought me to consort with the most famous pirates of the age, some of whom have ended their journals at the gallows; I think the giving an account of some of my other adventures may be an agreeable piece of story; and this I may venture to say beforehand, upon the word of a pirate, that I should not be able to recollect the full, no not by far, of the great variety which has formed one of the most reprobate schemes that ever man was capable to present to the world.

I that was, as I have hinted before, an original thief, and a pirate even by inclination before, was now in my element, and never undertook anything in my life with more particular satisfaction.

Captain Wilmot (for so we are now to call him), being thus possessed of a ship, and in the manner as you have heard, it may be easily concluded he had nothing to do tc stay in the port, or to wait either the attempts that might be made from the shore, or any change which might happen among his men. On the contrary, we weighed anchor the same tide, and stood out to sea, steering away for the Canaries. Our ship had twenty-two guns, but was able to carry thirty; and besides, as she was fitted out for a merchant ship only, she was not furnished either with ammunition or small arms sufficient for our design, or for the occasion we might have in case of a fight; so we put into Cadiz, that is to say, we came to an anchor in the bay; and the captain, and one whom we called young Captain Kid, who was the gunner, and some of the men, who could best be trusted, among whom was my comrade Harris, who was made second mate, and myself, who was made a lieutenant; some bales of English goods were proposed to be carried on shore with us for sale; but my comrade, who was a com-

plete fellow at his business, proposed a better way for it; and, having been in the town before, told us, in short, that he would buy what powder and bullet, small arms, or anything else we wanted, on his own word, to be paid for when they came on board, in such English goods as we had there. This was by much the best way, and accordingly he and the captain went on shore by themselves, and, having made such a bargain as they found for their turn, came away again in two hours' time, and bringing only a butt of wine, and five casks of brandy with them, we all went on board again.

The next morning two barco-longoes came off to us, deeply loaden, with five Spaniards on board them, for traffic. Our captain sold them good pennyworths, and they delivered us sixteen barrels of powder, twelve small rundlets of fine powder for our small arms, sixty muskets, and twelve fusees for the officers; seventeen tons of cannon-ball, fifteen barrels of musket-bullets, with some swords, and twenty good pair of pistols. Besides this they brought thirteen butts of wine (for we, that were now all become gentlemen, scorned to drink the ship's beer), also sixteen puncheons of brandy, with twelve barrels of raisins, and twenty chests of lemons; all which were paid for in English goods; and, over and above, the captain received six hundred pieces of eight in money. They would have come again, but we would stay no longer.

From hence we sailed to the Canaries, and from thence onward to the West Indies, where we committed some depredation upon the Spaniards for provisions, and took some prizes, but none of any great value, while I remained with them, which was not long at that time; for, having taken a Spanish sloop on the Coast of Carthagena, my friend made a motion to me, that we should desire Captain Wilmot to put us into the sloop, with a proportion of arms and ammunition, and let us try what we could do; she being much fitter for our business than the great ship, and a better sailer. This he consented to, and we appointed our rendezvous at Tobago, making an agreement, that whatever was taken by either of our ships, should be shared among the ship's company of both; all which we very punctually observed, and joined our ships again, about fifteen month's after, at the island of Tobago, as above.

We cruised near two years in those seas, chiefly upon the

Spaniards; not that we made any difficulty of taking English ships, or Dutch, or French, if they came in our way; and particularly Captain Wilmot attacked a New England ship bound from the Madeiras to Jamaica, and another bound from New York to Barbadoes, with provisions; which last was a very happy supply to us. But the reason why we meddled as little with English vessels as we could, was, first, because, if they were ships of any force, we were sure of more resistance from them; and, secondly, because we found the English ships had less booty when taken; for the Spaniards generally had money on board, and that was what we best knew what to do with. Captain Wilmot was indeed more particularly cruel when he took any English vessel, that they might not too soon have advice of him in England; and so the men of war have orders to look out for him. But this part I bury in silence for the present.

We increased our stock in these two years considerably, having taken sixty thousand pieces of eight in one vessel, and a hundred thousand in another; and being thus first grown rich, we resolved to be strong too; for we had taken a brigantine built at Virginia, an excellent sea-boat, and a good sailer, and able to carry twelve guns; and a large Spanish frigate-built ship, that sailed incomparably well also, and which afterwards, by the help of good carpenters, we fitted up to carry twenty-eight guns. And now we wanted more hands, so we put away for the bay of Campeachy, not doubting we should ship as many men there as we pleased; and so we did.

Here we sold the sloop that I was in; and Captain Wilmot, keeping his own ship, I took the command of the Spanish frigate, as captain; and my comrade Harris as eldest lieutenant; and a bold enterprising fellow he was, as any the world afforded. One culverdine was put into the brigantine, so that we were now three stout ships, well manned, and victualled for twelve months; for we had taken two or three sloops from New England and New York, loaden with flour, pease, and barrelled beef and pork, going for Jamaica and Barbadoes; and for more beef we went on shore on the isle of Cuba, where we killed as many black cattle as we pleased, though we had very little salt to cure them.

Out of all the prizes we took here, we took their powder

and bullet, their small arms and cutlasses; and as for their men, we always took the surgeon and the carpenter, as persons who were of particular use to us upon many occasions: nor were they always unwilling to go with us; though for their own security, in case of accidents, they might easily pretend they were carried away by force; of which I shall give a pleasant account in the course of my other expeditions.

We had one very merry fellow here, a quaker, whose name was William Walters, whom we took out of a sloop bound from Pennsylvania to Barbadoes. He was a surgeon, and they called him doctor; but he was not employed in the sloop as a surgeon, but was going to Barbadoes to get a birth, as the sailors call it. However, he had all his surgeon's chest on board, and we made him go with us, and take all his implements with him. He was a comic fellow indeed, a man of very good solid sense, and an excellent surgeon; but, what was worth all, very good humoured, and pleasant in his conversation, and a bold, stout fellow too, as any we had among us.

I found William, as I thought, not very averse to go along with us, and yet resolved to do it so, that it might be apparent he was taken away by force; and, to this purpose, he comes to me: Friend, says he, thou sayest I must go with thee, and it is not in my power to resist thee, if I would; but I desire thou wilt oblige the master of the sloop which I am on board, to certify under his hand, that I was taken away by force, and against my will. And this he said with so much satisfaction in his face, that I could not but understand him. Ay, ay, says I, whether it be against your will or no, I'll make him and all the men give you a certificate of it, or I'll take them all along with us, and keep them till they do. So I drew up the certificate myself, wherein I wrote that he was taken away by main force, as a prisoner, by a pirate ship; that they carried away his chest and instruments first, and then bound his hands behind him, and forced him into their boat; and this was signed by the master and all his men.

Accordingly I fell a swearing at him, and called to my men to tie his hands behind him, and so we put him into our boat, and carried him away. When I had him on board, I called him to me; now, friend, says I, I have brought you

away by force, it is true, but I am not of the opinion I have brought you away so much against your will as they imagine: come, says I, you will be a useful man to us, and you shall have very good usage among us. So I unbound his hands, and first ordered all things that belonged to him to be restored to him, and our captain gave him a dram.

Thou hast dealt friendly by me, says he, and I will be plain with thee, whether I came willingly to thee or not. I shall make myself as useful to thee as I can; but thou knowest it is not my business to meddle when thou art to fight. No, no, says the captain, but you may meddle a little when we share the money. Those things are useful to furnish a surgeon's chest, says William, and smiled, but I shall be moderate.

In short, William was a most agreeable companion; but he had the better of us in this part, that, if we were taken, we were sure to be hanged, and he was sure to escape; and he knew it well enough: but, in short, he was a sprightly fellow, and fitter to be captain than any of us. I shall have often an occasion to speak of him in the rest of the story.

Our cruising so long in these seas began now to be so well known, that, not in England only, but in France and Spain, accounts had been made public of our adventures, and many stories told, how we murdered the people in cold blood, tying them back to back, and throwing them into the sea: one half of which, however, was not true, though more was done than it is fit to speak of here.

The consequence of this however was, that several English men of war were sent to the West Indies, and were particularly instructed to cruise in the bay of Mexico, and the gulf of Florida, and among the Bahama islands, if possible, to attack us. We were not so ignorant of things as not to expect this, after so long a stay in that part of the world; but the first certain account we had of them, was at Honduras, when a vessel, coming in from Jamaica, told us, that two English men of war were coming directly from Jamaica thither in quest of us. We were indeed as it were embayed, and could not have made the least shift to have got off, if they had come directly to us; but as it happened, somebody had informed them that we were in the bay of Campeachy, and they went directly thither, by which we were not only free of them, but were so much to the windward of them,

that they could not make any attempt upon us, though they had known we were there.

We took this advantage, and stood away for Carthagena, and from thence with great difficulty beat it up at a distance from under the shore of St. Martha, till we came to the Dutch island of Curasoe, and from thence to the island of Tobago; which, as before, was our rendezvous; and it being a deserted, uninhabited island, we at the same time made use of it for a retreat: here the captain of the brigantine died, and Captain Harris, at that time my lieutenant, took the command of the brigantine.

Here we came to a resolution to go away to the coast of Brazil, and from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, and so for the East Indies: but Captain Harris, as I have said, being now captain of the brigantine, alleged that his ship was too small for so long a voyage; but that, if Captain Wilmot would consent, he would take the hazard of another cruise, and he would follow us in the first ship he could take: so we appointed our rendezvous to be at Madagascar, which was done by my recommendation of the place, and the plenty of provisions to be had there.

Accordingly he went away from us in an evil hour; for, instead of taking a ship to follow us, he was taken, as I heard afterwards, by an English man-of-war, and being laid in irons, died of mere grief and anger before he came to England. His lieutenant, I have heard, was afterwards executed in England for a pirate, and this was the end of the man who first brought me into this unhappy trade.

We parted from Tobago three days after, bending our course for the coast of Brazil, but had not been at sea above twenty-four hours, when we were separated by a terrible storm, which held three days, with very little abatement or intermission. In this juncture, Captain Wilmot happened unluckily to be on board my ship, very much to his mortification; for we not only lost sight of his ship, but never saw her more till we came to Madagascar, where she was cast away. In short, after having in this tempest lost our fore-top-mast, we were forced to put back to the isle of Tobago for shelter, and to repair our damage, which brought us all very near our destruction.

We were no sooner on shore here, and all very busy looking out for a piece of timber for a top-mast, but we perceived,

standing in for the shore, an English man-of-war of thirty-six guns: it was a great surprise to us indeed, because we were disabled so much; but to our great good fortune, we lay pretty snug and close among the high rocks, and the man-of-war did not see us, but stood off again upon his cruise: so we only observed which way she went, and at night, leaving our work, resolved to stand off to sea, steering the contrary way from that which we observed she went; and this we found had the desired success, for we saw him no more. We had gotten an old mizen top-mast on board, which made us a jury fore-top-mast for the present; and so we stood away for the isle of Trinidad, where, though there were Spaniards on shore, yet we landed some men with our boat, and cut a very good piece of fir to make us a new top-mast, which we got fitted up effectually; and also we got some cattle here to eke out our provisions; and, calling a council of war among ourselves, we resolved to quit those seas for the present, and steer away for the coast of Brazil.

The first thing we attempted here, was only getting fresh water: but we learnt, that there lay the Portuguese fleet at the bay of All-Saints, bound for Lisbon, ready to sail, and only waiting for a fair wind. This made us lie by, wishing to see them put to sea, and accordingly as they were, with or without convoy, to attack or avoid them.

It sprung up a fresh gale in the evening, at S.W. by W., which, being fair for the Portugal fleet, and the weather pleasant and agreeable, we heard the signal given to unmoor, and, running in under the island of Si——, we hauled our main-sail and fore-sail up in the brails, lowered the top-sail upon the cap, and clewed them up, that we might lie as snug as we could, expecting their coming out, and the next morning saw the whole fleet come out accordingly, but not at all to our satisfaction, for they consisted of twenty-six sail, and most of them ships of force as well as burthen, both merchantmen and men-of-war; so, seeing there was no meddling, we lay still where we were also, till the fleet was out of sight, and then stood off and on, in hopes of meeting with further purchase.

It was not long before we saw a sail, and immediately gave her chase; but she proved an excellent sailer, and, standing out to sea, we saw plainly she trusted to her heels—that is to say, to her sails. However, as we were a clean

ship, we gained upon her, though slowly, and, had we had a day before us, we should certainly have come up with her; but it grew dark apace, and in that case we knew we should lose sight of her.

Our merry quaker, perceiving us to crowd still after her in the dark, wherein we could not see which way she went, came very drily to me: Friend Singleton, says he, dost thee know what we are doing? Says I, Yes, why we are chasing yon ship, are we not? And how dost thou know that? says he, very gravely still. Nay, that's true, says I again, we cannot be sure. Yes, friend, says he, I think we may be sure that we are running away from her—not chasing her. I am afraid, adds he, thou art turned quaker, and hast resolved not to use the hand of power, or art a coward, and art flying from thy enemy.

What do you mean? says I (I think I swore at him); what do ye sneer at now: you have always one dry rub or another to give us.

Nay, says he, it is plain enough the ship stood off to sea due east, on purpose to lose us, and thou mayest be sure her business does not lie that way; for what should she do at the coast of Africa in this latitude, which should be as far south as Congo or Angola? But as soon as it is dark, that we shall lose sight of her, she will tack, and stand away west again for the Brazil coast, and for the bay, where, thou knowest, she was going before; and are we not then running away from her? I am greatly in hopes, friend, says the dry gibing creature, thou wilt turn quaker, for I see thou art not for fighting.

Very well, William, says I, then I shall make an excellent pirate. However, William was in the right, and I apprehended what he meant immediately; and Captain Wilmot, who lay very sick in his cabin, overhearing us, understood him as well as I, and called out to me that William was right, and it was our best way to change our course, and stand away for the bay, where it was ten to one but we should snap her in the morning.

Accordingly, we went about ship, got our larboard tacks on board, set the top-gallant sails, and crowded for the bay of All-Saints, where we came to an anchor, early in the morning, just out of gun-shot of the forts. We furled our sails with rope-yarns, that we might haul home the sheets

without going up to loose them, and, lowering our main and fore-yards, looked just as if we had lain there a good while.

In two hours after we saw our game standing in for the bay with all the sail she could make, and she came innocently into our very mouths, for we lay still till we saw her almost within gun-shot, when our fore-mast geers being stretched fore and aft, we first ran up our yards, and then hauled home the top-sail sheets; the rope-yarns that furled them giving way of themselves, the sails were set in a few minutes; at the same time slipping our cable, we came upon her before she could get under way upon the other tack. They were so surprised that they made little or no resistance, but struck after the first broadside.

We were considering what to do with her, when William came to me: Hark thee, friend, says he, thou hast made a fine piece of work of it now, hast thou not? To borrow thy neighbour's ship here just at thy neighbour's door, and never ask him leave. Now, dost thou not think there are some men-of-war in the port? Thou hast given them the alarm sufficiently; thou wilt have them upon thy back before night, depend upon it, to ask thee wherefore thou didst so.

Truly, William, said I, for ought I know, that may be true. What, then, shall we do next? Says he, Thou hast but two things to do, either to go in and take all the rest, or else get thee gone before they come out and take thee; for I see they are hoisting a top-mast to yon great ship, in order to put to sea immediately, and they won't be long before they come to talk with thee; and what wilt thou say to them when they ask thee why thou borrowest their ship without leave?

As William said, so it was: we could see by our glasses they were all in a hurry, manning and fitting some sloops they had there, and a large man-of-war, and it was plain they would soon be with us; but we were not at a loss what to do. We found the ship we had taken was loaden with nothing considerable for our purpose, except some cocoa, some sugar, and twenty barrels of flour; the rest of her loading was hides; so we took out all we thought for our turn, and, among the rest, all her ammunition, great shot, and small arms, and turned her off; we also took a cable and three anchors she had, which were for our purpose, and

some of her sails. She had enough left just to carry her into port, and that was all.

CHAPTER XI.

ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM'S GALLANT BEHAVIOUR IN AN ACTION WITH A PORTUGUESE MAN-OF-WAR—WE TAKE THE SHIP —FALL IN WITH A VESSEL FULL OF NEGROES, WHO HAD MURDERED THE OFFICERS AND CREW—THE NEGROES' ACCOUNT OF THE TRANSACTION.

Having done this, we stood on upon the Brazil coast, southward, till we came to the mouth of the river Janeiro: but, as we had two days the wind blowing hard at S.E and S.S.E., we were obliged to come to an anchor under a little island, and wait for a wind. In this time, the Portuguese had, it seems, given notice over land to the governor there, that a pirate was upon the coast; so that, when we came in view of the port, we saw two men-of-war riding just without the bar, whereof one we found was getting under sail with all possible speed, having slipt her cable, on purpose to speak with us; the other was not so forward, but was preparing to follow; in less than an hour they stood both fair after us, with all the sail they could make.

Had not the night come on, William's words had been made good; they would certainly have asked us the question, what we did there? for we found the foremost ship gained upon us, especially upon one tack; for we plied away from them to windward; but in the dark losing sight of them, we resolved to change our course, and stand away directly to sea, not doubting but we should lose them in the night.

Whether the Portuguese commander guessed we would do so or no, I know not; but in the morning, when the daylight appeared, instead of having lost him, we found him in chase of us, about a league astern; only, to our great good fortune, we could see but one of the two; however, this one was a great ship, carried six and forty guns, and an admirable sailer, as appeared by her outsailing us; for our ship was an excellent sailer too, as I have said before.

When I found this, I easily saw there was no remedy, but

we must engage; and, as we knew we could expect no quarters from those scoundrels the Portuguese, a nation I had an original aversion to, I let Captain Wilmot know how it was. The captain, sick as he was, jumped up in the cabin, and would be led out upon the deck (for he was very weak), to see how it was. Well, says he, we'll fight them.

Our men were all in good heart before; but, to see the captain so brisk, who had lain ill of a calenture ten or eleven days, gave them double courage, and they went all hands to work to make a clear ship and be ready. William the quaker comes to me with a kind of smile: Friend, says he, what does yon ship follow us for? Why, says I, to fight us, you may be sure. Well, says he, and will she come up with us, dost thou think? Yes, said I, you see she will. Why then, friend, says the dry wretch, why dost thou run from her still, when thou seest she will overtake thee? will it be better for us to be overtaken further off than here? Much at one for that, says I; why, what would you have us do? Do! says he, let us not give the poor man more trouble than needs must; let us stay for him, and hear what he has to say to us. He will talk to us in powder and ball, said I. Very well then, says he, if that be his country language, we must talk to him in the same, must we not? or else how shall he understand us? Very well, William, says I, we understand you. And the captain, as ill as he was, called to me, William's right again, says he, as good here as a league further. So he gave a word of command, Haul up the main-sail; we'll shorten sail for him.

Accordingly we shortened sail; and, as we expected her upon our lee-side, we being then upon our starboard tack, brought eighteen of our guns to the larboard side, resolving to give him a broadside that should warm him; it was about half an hour before he came up with us, all which time we luffed up, that we might keep the wind of him, by which he was obliged to run up under our lee, as we designed him; when we got him upon our quarter, we edged down, and received the fire of five or six of his guns; by this time you may be sure all our hands were at their quarters, so we clapped our helm hard a-weather, let go the lee-braces of the main top-sail, and laid it a-back, and so our ship fell athwart the Portuguese ship's hawse; then we immediately

poured in our broadside, raking them fore and aft, and killed them a great many men.

The Portuguese, we could see, were in the utmost confusion; and, not being aware of our design, their ship having fresh way, ran their bowsprit into the fore part of our main shrouds, as that they could not easily get clear of us, and so we lay locked after that manner; the enemy could not bring above two or three guns, besides their small arms, to bear upon us, while we played our whole broadside upon him.

In the middle of the heat of this fight, as I was very busy upon the quarter-deck, the captain calls to me, for he never stirred from us, What the devil is friend William a-doing yonder, says the captain, has he any business upon deck? I stept forward, and there was friend William, with two or three stout fellows, lashing the ship's bowsprit fast to our mainmast, for fear they should get away from us; and every now and then he pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and gave the men a dram to encourage them. The shot flew about his ears as thick as may be supposed in such an action, where the Portuguese, to give them their due, fought very briskly, believing at first they were sure of their game, and trusting to their superiority; but there was William, as composed, and in as perfect tranquillity as to danger, as if he had been over a bowl of punch, only very busy securing the matter, that a ship of forty-six guns should not run away from a ship of eight-and-twenty.

This work was too hot to hold long; our men behaved bravely; our gunner, a gallant man, shouted below, pouring in his shot at such a rate, that the Portuguese began to slacken their fire; we had dismounted several of their guns by firing in at their forecastle, and raking them, as I said, fore and aft; and presently comes William up to me: Friend, says he, very calmly, what dost thou mean? Why dost thou not visit thy neighbour in the ship, the door being open for thee? I understood him immediately, for our guns had so torn their hull, that we had beat two port-holes into one, and the bulk-head of their steerage was split to pieces, so that they could not retire to their close quarters; I then gave the word immediately to board them. Our second lieutenant, with about thirty men, entered in an instant over the forecastle, followed by some more, with the boatswain, and

cutting in pieces about twenty-five men that they found upon the deck, and then, throwing some grenadoes into the steerage, they entered there also; upon which the Portuguese cried quarter presently, and we mastered the ship, contrary indeed to our own expectation; for we would have compounded with them, if they would have sheered off, but laying them athwart the hawse at first, and following our fire furiously, without giving them any time to get clear of us, and work their ship; by this means, though they had six-and-forty guns, they were not able to point them forward, as I said above, for we beat them immediately from their guns in the forecastle, and killed them abundance of men between decks, so that, when we entered, they had hardly found men enough to fight us hand to hand upon their deck.

The surprise of joy, to hear the Portuguese cry quarter, and see their ancient struck, was so great to our captain, who, as I have said, was reduced very weak with a high fever, that it gave him new life. Nature conquered the distemper, and the fever abated that very night; so that in two or three days he was sensibly better, his strength began to come, and he was able to give his orders effectually in everything that was material, and in about ten days was entirely well, and about the ship.

In the mean time, I took possession of the Portuguese man-of-war; and Captain Wilmot made me, or rather I made myself, captain of her for the present. About thirty of their seamen took service with us, some of whom were French, some Genoese; and we set the rest on shore the next day, on a little island on the coast of Brazil, except some wounded men, who were not in a condition to be removed, and whom we were bound to keep on board; but we had an occasion afterwards to dispose of them at the Cape, where, at their own request, we set them on shore.

Captain Wilmot, as soon as the ship was taken, and the prisoners stowed, was for standing in for the river Janeiro again, not doubting that we should meet with the other man-of-war, who, not having been able to find us, and having lost the company of her comrade, would certainly be returned, and might be surprised by the ship we had taken, if we carried Portuguese colours; and our men were all for it.

But our friend William gave us better counsel; for he came to me; Friend, says he, I understand the captain is for

sailing back to the Ric Janeiro, in hopes to meet with the other ship that was in chase of thee yesterday. Is it true, dost thou intend it? Why, yes, says I, William, pray why not? Nay, says he, thou mayest do so if thou wilt. Well, I know that too, William, said I; but the captain is a man who will be ruled by reason; what have you to say to it? Why, says William, gravely, I only ask what is thy business, and the business of all the people thou hast with thee? Is it not to get money? Yes, William, it is so, in our honest way. And wouldst thou, says he, rather have money without fighting, or fighting without money? I mean, which wouldst thou have by choice, suppose it to be left to thee? O William, says I, the first of the two, to be sure. Why then, says he, what great gain hast thou made of the prize thou hast taken now, though it has cost thee the lives of thirteen of thy men, besides some hurt? It is true, thou hast got the ship and some prisoners; but thou wouldst have had twice the booty in a merchant ship, with not one quarter of the fighting; and how dost thou know either what force, or what number of men, may be in the other ship, and what loss thou mayest suffer, and what gain it shall be to thee, if thou take her? I think indeed thou mayest much better let her alone.

Why, William, it is true, said I, and I'll go tell the captain what your opinion is, and bring you word what he says. Accordingly I went to the captain, and told him William's reasons; and the captain was of his mind—that our business was indeed fighting when we could not help it, but that our main affair was money, and that with as few blows as we could. So that adventure was laid aside, and we stood along-shore again south for the river de la Plata, expecting some purchase thereabouts; especially we had our eyes upon some of the Spanish ships from Buenos Ayres, which are generally very rich in silver, and one such prize would have done our business. We plied about here, in the latitude of near 22 degrees south, for near a month, and nothing offered; and here we began to consult what we should do next, for we had come to no resolution yet. Indeed, my design was always for the Cape de Bona Speranza, and so to the East Indies. I had heard some flaming stories of Captain Avery, and the fine things he had done in the Indies, which were doubled and doubled, even ten thousand-fold: and from taking a great prize in the bay of Bengal,

where he took a lady, said to be the Great Mogul's daughter, with a great quantity of jewels about her, we had a story told us, that he took a Mogul ship, so the foolish sailors called it, loaden with diamonds.

I would fain have had friend William's advice—whither we should go; but he always put it off with some quaking quibble or other. In short, he did not care for directing us neither. Whether he made a piece of conscience of it, or whether he did not care to venture having it come against him afterwards, or no, this I know not; but we concluded at last without him.

We were, however, pretty long in resolving, and hankered about the Rio de la Plata a long time. At last we spied a sail to windward, and it was such a sail as I believe had not been seen in that part of the world a great while. It wanted not that we should give it chase, for it stood directly towards us, as well as they that steered could make it, and even that was more accident of weather than anything else; for, if the wind had chopt about anywhere, they must have gone with it. I leave any man that is a sailor, or understands anything of a ship, to judge what a figure this ship made when we first saw her, and what we could imagine was the matter with her. Her main topmast was come by the board, about six feet above the cap, and fell forward, the head of the top-gallant mast hanging in the fore shrouds by the stay; at the same time, the pareil of the mizen topsail yard, by some accident, giving way, the mizen topsail braces (the standing part of which being fast to the main topsail shrouds) brought the mizen topsail, yard and all, down with it, which spread over part of the quarter-deck like an awning; the fore topsail was hoisted up two-thirds of the mast, but the sheets were flown; the fore-yard was lowered down upon the forecastle, the sail loose, and part of it hanging overboard. In this manner she came down upon us with the wind quartering. In a word, the figure the whole ship made was the most confounding to men that understood the sea that ever was seen. She had no boat, neither had she any colours out.

When we came near to her we fired a gun to bring her to. She took no notice of it, nor of us, but came on just as she did before. We fired again, but it was all one. At length we came within pistol-shot of one another, but nobody

answered, nor appeared; so we began to think that it was a ship gone ashore somewhere in distress, and, the men having forsaken her, the high tide had floated her off to sea. Coming nearer to her, we run up alongside of her so close that we could hear a noise within her, and see the motion of several people through her ports.

Upon this we manned out two boats full of men, and very well armed, and ordered them to board her at the same minute, as near as they could, and to enter, one at her fore-chains on one side, and the other a-mid-ship on the other side. As soon as they came to the ship's side, a surprising multitude of black sailors, such as they were, appeared upon deck, and, in short, terrified our men so much, that the boat which was to enter her men in the waste stood off again, and durst not board her; and the men that entered out of the other boat, finding the first boat, as they thought, beaten off, and seeing the ship full of men, jumped all back again into their boat, and put off, not knowing what the matter was. Upon this we prepared to pour in a broadside upon her: but our friend William set us to rights again here; for it seems he guessed how it was sooner than we did; and coming up to me (for it was our ship that came up with her), Friend, says he, I am of opinion thou art wrong in this matter, and thy men have been wrong also in their conduct: I'll tell thee how thou shalt take this ship, without making use of those things called guns. How can that be, William? said I. Why, said he, thou mayst take her with thy helm: thou seest they keep no steerage, and thou seest the condition they are in; board her with thy ship under her lee quarter, and so enter her from the ship: I am persuaded thou wilt take her without fighting; for there is some mischief has befallen the ship, which we know nothing of.

In a word, it being a smooth sea, and little wind, I took his advice, and laid her aboard. Immediately our men entered the ship, where we found a large ship, with upwards of six hundred negroes, men and women, boys and girls, and not one Christian, or white man on board.

I was struck with horror at the sight; for immediately I concluded, as was partly the case, that these black devils had got loose, had murdered all the white men, and thrown them into the sea; and I had no sooner told my mind to the men, but the thought of it so enraged them, that I had much ado

to keep my men from cutting them all in pieces. But William, with many persuasions, prevailed upon them, by telling them, that it was nothing but what, if they were in the negroes' condition, they would do if they could; and that the negroes had really the highest injustice done them, to be sold for slaves without their consent; and that the law of nature dictated it to them; that they ought not to kill them, and that it would be wilful murder to do it.

This prevailed with them, and cooled their first heat; so they only knocked down twenty or thirty of them, and the rest ran all down between decks to their first places, believing, as we fancied, that we were their first masters come again.

It was a most unaccountable difficulty we had next; for we could not make them understand one word we said, nor could we understand one word ourselves that they said. We endeavoured by signs to ask them whence they came; but they could make nothing of it. We pointed to the great cabin, to the roundhouse, to the cook-room, then to our faces, to ask if they had no white men on board, and where they were gone: but they could not understand what we meant. On the other hand, they pointed to our boat and to their ship, asking qestions as well as they could, and said a thousand things, and expressed themselves with great earnestness; but we could not understand a word of it all, or know what they meant by any of their signs.

We knew very well they must have been taken on board the ship as slaves, and that it must be by some European people too. We could easily see that the ship was a Dutch-built ship, but very much altered, having been built upon, and, as we supposed, in France; for we found two or three French books on board, and afterwards we found clothes, linen, lace, some old shoes, and several other things. We found, among the provisions, some barrels of Irish beef, some Newfoundland fish, and several other evidences that there had been Christians on board, but saw no remains of them. We found not a sword, gun, pistol, or weapon of any kind, except some cutlasses; and the negroes had hid them below where they lay. We asked them what was become of all the small arms, pointing to our own, and to the places where those belonging to the ship had hung. One of the negroes understood me presently, and beckoned to me to come up upon the deck, where, taking my fuzee, which I never let go out

of my hand for some time after we had mastered the ship; I say, offering to take hold of it, he made the proper motion of throwing it into the sea; by which I understood, as I did afterwards, that they had thrown all the small arms, powder, shot, swords, &c., into the sea, believing, as I supposed, those things would kill them though the men were gone.

After we understood this, we made no question but that the ship's crew having been surprised by these desperate rogues, had gone the same way, and had been thrown overboard also. We looked all over the ship to see if we could find any blood, and we thought we did perceive some in several places; but the heat of the sun melting the pitch and tar upon the decks, made it impossible for us to discern it exactly, except in the roundhouse, where we plainly saw that there had been much blood. We found the skuttle open, by which we supposed the captain and those that were with him had made their retreat into the great cabin, or those in the cabin had made their escape up into the roundhouse.

But that which confirmed us most of all in what had happened, was, that upon farther inquiry we found that there were seven or eight of the negroes very much wounded, two or three of them with shot; whereof one had his leg broke, and lay in a miserable condition, the flesh being mortified, and, as our friend William said, in two days more he would have died. William was a most dexterous surgeon, and he showed it in this cure; for though all the surgeons we had on board both our ships (and we had no less than five that called themselves bred surgeons, besides two or three who were pretenders or assistants), though all these gave their opinions, that the negro's leg must be cut off, and that his life could not be saved without it; that the mortification had touched the marrow in the bone; that the tendons were mortified, and that he could never have the use of his leg, if it should be cured; William said nothing in general, but that his opinion was otherwise, and that he desired the wound might be searched, and that he would then tell them farther. Accordingly he went to work with the leg; and, as he desired he might have some of the surgeons to assist him, we appointed him two of the ablest of them to help, and all of them to look on if they thought fit.

William went to work his own way, and some of them pretended to find fault at first. However, he proceeded, and

searched every part of the leg where he suspected the mortification had touched it: in a word, he cut off a great deal of mortified flesh; in all which the poor fellow felt no pain. William proceeded, till he brought the vessels which he had cut to bleed, and the man to cry out: then he reduced the splinters of the bone, and calling for help, set it, as we call it, and bound it up, and laid the man to rest, who found himself much easier than before.

At the first opening, the surgeons began to triumph; the mortification seemed to spread, and a long red streak of blood appeared from the wound upwards to the middle of the man's thigh, and the surgeons told me the man would die in a few hours. I went to look at it, and found William himself under some surprise; but when I asked him how long he thought the poor fellow could live, he looked gravely up at me, and said, As long as thou canst: I am not at all apprehensive of his life, said he; but I would cure him, if I could, without making a cripple of him. I found he was not just then upon the operation, as to his leg, but was mixing up something to give the poor creature, to repel, as I thought, the spreading contagion, and to abate or prevent any feverish temper that might happen in the blood; after which he went to work again, and opened the leg in two places above the wound, cutting out a great deal of mortified flesh, which, it seems, was occasioned by the bandage, which had pressed the parts too much; and withal, the blood being at that time in a more than common disposition to mortify, might assist to spread it.

Well, our friend William conquered all this, cleared the spreading mortification, that the red streak went off again, the flesh began to heal, and matter to run; and in a few days the man's spirits began to recover, his pulse beat regular, he had no fever, and gathered strength daily, and, in a word, he was a perfect sound man in about ten weeks, and we kept him amongst us, and made him an able seaman. But to return to the ship: we never could come at a certain information about it, till some of the negroes which we kept on board, and whom we taught to speak English, gave the account of it afterwards, and this maimed man in particular.

We inquired by all the signs and motions we could imagine, what was become of the people, and yet we could get nothing from them. Our lieutenant was for torturing some of them to make them confess; but William opposed that vehemently;

and when he heard it was under consideration, he came tc me; Friend, says he, I make a request to thee not to put any of these poor wretches to torment. Why, William, said I, why not? You see they will not give any account of what is become of the white men. Nay, says William, do not say so; I suppose they have given thee a full account of every particular of it. How so? says I: pray what are we the wiser for all their jabbering? Nay, says William, that may be thy fault, for aught I know: thou wilt not punish the poor men because they cannot speak English; and perhaps they never heard a word of English before. Now, I may very well suppose, that they had given thee a large account of everything; for thou seest with what earnestness, and how long, some of them have talked to thee; and if thou canst not understand their language, nor they thine, how can they help that? At the best, thou doest but suppose that they have not told thee the whole truth of the story; and, on the contrary, I suppose they have; and how wilt thou decide the question, whether thou art right, or whether I am right? Besides, what can they say to thee, when thou askest them a question upon the torture, and at the same time they do not understand the question, and thou doest not know whether they say aye or no?

It is no compliment to my moderation, to say, I was convinced by these reasons; and yet we had all much ado to keep our second lieutenant from murdering some of them, to make them tell. What if they had told; he did not understand one word of it; but he would not be persuaded but that the negroes must needs understand him, when he asked them, whether the ship had any boat or no, like ours, and what was become of it.

But there was no remedy but to wait till we made these people understand English; and to adjourn the story till that time. The case was thus; where they were taken on board the ship, that we could never understand, because they never knew the English names which we give to those coasts, or what nation they were who belonged to the ship, because they knew not one tongue from another; but thus far the negro I examined, who was the same whose leg William had cured, told us—that they did not speak the same language we spoke, nor the same our Portuguese spoke; so that in all probability they must be French or Dutch.

Then he told us, that the white men used them barbarously; that they beat them unmercifully; that one of the negro men had a wife, and two negro children, one a daughter, about sixteen years old; that a white man abused the negro man's wife, and afterwards his daughter, which, as he said, made all the negro men mad; and that the woman's husband was in a great rage; at which the white man was so provoked, that he threatened to kill him; but, in the night, the negro man being loose, got a great club, by which he made us understand he meant a handspike, and that when the same Frenchman (if it was a Frenchman) came among them again, he began again to abuse the negro man's wife; at which the negro, taking up the handspike, knocked his brains out at one blow; and then taking the key from him with which he usually unlocked the handcuffs which the negroes were fettered with, he set about a hundred of them at liberty, who, getting up upon the deck, by the same skuttle that the white man came down, and taking the man's cutlass who was killed, and laying hold of what came next them, they fell upon the men that were upon the deck, and killed them all, and afterwards those they found upon the forecastle; that the captain and his other men, who were in the cabin and the roundhouse, defended themselves with great courage, and shot out at the loopholes at them, by which he and several other men were wounded, and some killed; but that they broke into the roundhouse, after a long dispute, where they killed two of the white men, but owned that the two white men killed eleven of their men, before they could break in; and then the rest having got down the skuttle into the great cabin, wounded three more of them.

That, after this, the gunner of the ship having secured himself in the gun-room, one of his men hauled up the long boat close under the stern, and putting into her all the arms and ammunition they could come at, got all into the boat, and afterwards took in the captain, and those that were with him, out of the great cabin. When they were all thus embarked, they resolved to lay the ship abroad again, and try to recover it. That they boarded the ship in a desperate manner, and killed at first all that stood in their way; but the negroes being by this time all loose, and having gotten some arms, though they understood nothing of powder and

bullet, or guns, yet the men could never master them. However, they lay under the ship's bow, and got out all the men they had left in the cook-room, who had maintained themselves there, notwithstanding all the negroes could do, and with their small arms killed between thirty and forty of the negroes, but were at last forced to leave them.

They could give me no account whereabouts this was—whether near the coast of Africa or far off—or how long it was before the ship fell into our hands; only, in general, it was a great while ago, as they called it; and, by all we could learn, it was within two or three days after they had set sail from the coast. They told us that they had killed about thirty of the white men, having knocked them on the head with crows and handspikes, and such things as they could get: and one strong negro killed three of them with an iron crow, after he was shot twice through the body; and that he was afterwards shot through the head by the captain himself, at the door of the roundhouse, which he had split open with the crow; and this we suppose was the occasion of the great quantity of blood which we saw at the roundhouse door.

The same negro told us that they threw all the powder and shot they could find into the sea, and they would have thrown the great guns into the sea, if they could have lifted them. Being asked how they came to have their sails in such a condition, his answer was, They no understand; they no know what the sails do; that was, they did not so much as know that it was the sails that made the ship go, or understand what they meant, or what to do with them. When we asked him whither they were going, he said they did not know, but believed they should go home to their own country again. I asked him, in particular, what he thought we were, when we came first up with them: he said they were terribly frightened, believing we were the same white men that had gone away in their boats, and were come again in a great ship, with the two boats with them, and expected they would kill them all.

This was the account we got out of them, after we had taught them to speak English, and to understand the names and use of the things belonging to the ship, which they had occasion to speak of; and we observed that the fellows were too innocent to dissemble in their relation, and that they all

agreed in the particulars, and were always in the same story, which confirmed very much the truth of what they said.

CHAPTER XII.

WILLIAM MAKES A TRADING VOYAGE WITH THE NEGROES, AND SELLS THEM ALL ADVANTAGEOUSLY—WE ARE JOINED OFF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE BY AN ENGLISH LONG-BOAT FULL OF MEN—ACCOUNT OF THEM—VARIOUS CAPTURES MADE.

Having taken this ship, our next difficulty was, what to do with the negroes. The Portuguese in the Brazils would have bought them all of us, and been glad of the purchase, if we had not showed ourselves enemies there, and been known for pirates; but, as it was, we durst not go ashore anywhere thereabouts, or treat with any of the planters, because we should raise the whole country upon us; and, it there were any such things as men-of-war in any of their ports, we should be assured to be attacked by them, and by all the force they had by land or sea.

Nor could we think of any better success, if we went northward to our own plantations. One while we determined to carry them all away to Buenos Ayres, and sell them there to the Spaniards; but they were really too many for them to make use of; and to carry them round to the South Seas, which was the only remedy that was left, was so far that we should be no way able to subsist them for so long a voyage.

At last, our old never-failing friend, William, helped us out again, as he had often done at a dead-lift. His proposal was this, that he should go as master of the ship, and about twenty men, such as we could best trust, and attempt to trade privately, upon the coast of Brazil, with the planters, not at the principal ports, because that would not be admitted.

We all agreed to this, and appointed to go away ourselves towards the Rio de la Plata, where we had thought of going before, and to wait for him, not there, but at Port St. Pedro, as the Spaniards call it, lying at the mouth of the river which they call Rio Grande, and where the Spaniards

had a small fort and a few people, but we believe there was nobody in it.

Here we took up our station, cruising off and on, to see if we could meet any ships going to, or coming from, Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata; but we met with nothing worth notice. However, we employed ourselves in things necessary for our going off to sea; for we filled all our water-casks, and got some fish for our present use, to spare as much as possible our ship's stores.

William, in the meantime, went away to the north, and made the land about the Cape of St. Thomas; and, betwixt that and the isles of Tuberon, he found means to trade with the planters for all his negroes, as well the women as the men, and at a very good price too; for Willlam, who spoke Portuguese pretty well, told them a fair story enough, that the ship was in scarcity of provisions, that they were driven a great way out of their way, and indeed, as we say, out of their knowledge, and that they must go up to the northward as far as Jamaica, or sell there upon the coast. This was a very plausible tale, and was easily believed; and, if you observe the manner of the negroes' sailing, and what happened in their voyage, was every word of it true.

By this method, and being true to one another, William past for what he was; I mean for a very honest fellow, and, by the assistance of one planter, who sent to some of his neigbour planters, and managed the trade among themselves, he got a quick market; for in less than five weeks William sold all his negroes, and at last sold the ship itself, and shipped himself and his twenty men, with two negro boys whom he had left, in a sloop, one of those which the planters used to send on board for the negroes. With this sloop, Captain William, as we then called him, came away, and found us at Port St. Pedro, in the latitude of 32 degrees 30 minutes south.

Nothing was more surprising to us, than to see a sloop come along the coast, carrying Portuguese colours, and come in directly to us, after we were assured he had discovered both our ships. We fired a gun, upon her nearer approach, to bring her to an anchor, but immediately she fired five guns by way of salute, and spread her English ancient: then we began to guess it was friend William, but wondered what was the meaning of his being in a sloop, whereas we

sent him away in a ship of near three hundred tons; but he soon let us into the whole history of his management, with which we had a great deal of reason to be very well satisfied. As soon as he had brought the sloop to an anchor, he came aboard of my ship, and there he gave us an account how he began to trade, by the help of a Portuguese planter, who lived near the sea-side; how he went on shore, and went up to the first house he could see, and asked the man of the house to sell him some hogs, pretending at first he only stood in upon the coast to take in fresh water, and buy some provisions; and the man not only sold him seven fat hogs, but invited him in, and gave him, and five men he had met with, a very good dinner; and he invited the planter on board his ship, and, in return for his kindness, gave him a negro girl for his wife.

This so obliged the planter, that the next morning he sent him on board, in a great luggage-boat, a cow and two sheep, with a chest of sweetmeats, and some sugar, and a great bag of tobacco, and invited Captain William on shore again: that, after this, they grew from one kindness to another; that they began to talk about trading for some negroes; and William, pretending it was to do him service, consented to sell him thirty negroes for his private use in his plantation, for which he gave William ready money in gold, at the rate of five and thirty moidores per head; but the planter was obliged to use great caution in the bringing them on shore: for which purpose, he made William weigh and stand out to sea, and put in again, about fifty miles farther north, where, at a little creek, he took the negroes on shore at another plantation, belonging to a friend of his, whom, it seems, he could trust.

This remove brought William into a farther intimacy, not only with the first planter, but also with his friends, who desired to have some of the negroes also; so that, from one to another, they bought so many, till one overgrown planter took a hundred negroes, which was all William had left, and sharing them with another planter, that other planter chaffered with William for ship and all, giving him in exchange a very clean, large, well-built sloop of near sixty tons, very well furnished, carrying six guns; but we made her afterwards carry twelve guns. William had three hundred moidores in gold, besides the sloop, in payment for the ship;

and with this money, he stored the sloop as full as she could hold with provisions, especially bread, some pork, and about sixty hogs alive: among the rest, William got eighty barrels of good gunpowder, which was very much for our purpose; and all the provisions which were in the French ship he took out also.

This was a very agreeable account to us, especially when we saw that William had received in gold coined, or by weight, and some Spanish silver, sixty thousand pieces of eight, besides a new sloop, and a vast quantity of provisions.

We were very glad of the sloop in particular, and began to consult what we should do, whether we had not best turn off our great Portuguese ship, and stick to our first ship and the sloop, seeing we had scarce men enough for all three, and that the biggest ship was thought too big for our business; however, another dispute, which was now decided, brought the first to a conclusion. The first dispute was, whither we should go? My comrade, as I called him now, that is to say, he that was my captain before we took this Portuguese man-of-war, was for going to the South Seas, and coasting up the west side of America, where we could not fail of making several good prizes upon the Spaniards; and that then, if occasion required, we might come home by the South Seas to the East Indies, and so go round the globe, as others had done before us.

But my head lay another way; I had been in the East Indies, and had entertained a notion, ever since that, that, if we went thither we could not fail of making good work of it, and that we might have a safe retreat, and good beef to victual our ship, among my old friends the natives of Zanguebar, on the coast of Mozambique, or the island of St. Laurence: I say, my thoughts lay this way; and I read so many lectures to them all, of the advantages they would certainly make of their strength, by the prizes they would take in the gulf of Mocha, or the Red Sea, and on the coast of Malabar, or the bay of Bengal, that I amazed them.

With these arguments, I prevailed on them, and we all resolved to steer away S.E. for the Cape of Good Hope; and, in consequence of this resolution, we concluded to keep the sloop, and sail with all three, not doubting, as I assured them, but we should find men there to make up the number

wanting, and, if not, we might cast any of them off when we pleased.

We could not do less than make our friend William captain of the sloop, which, with such good management, he had brought us. He told us, though with much good manners, he would not command her as a frigate, but, if we would give her to him for his share of the Guinea ship, which we came very honestly by, he would keep us company as a victualler, if we commanded him, as long as he was under the same force that took him away.

We understood him, so we gave him the sloop, but upon condition that he should not go from us, and should be entirely under command: however, William was not so easy as before; and indeed, as we afterwards wanted the sloop to cruise for purchase, and a right thorough-paced pirate in her, so I was in such pain for William, that I could not be without him, for he was my privy-councillor and companion upon all occasions; so I put a Scotsman, a bold enterprising gallant fellow, into her, named Gordon, and made her carry twelve guns, and four petereroes, though, indeed, we wanted men, for we were none of us manned in proportion to our force.

We sailed away for the Cape of Good Hope, the beginning of October, 1706, and passed by in sight of the Cape, the 12th of November following, having met with a great deal of bad weather: we saw several merchant-ships in the road there, as well English as Dutch, whether outward bound or homeward, we could not tell: be it what it would, we did not think fit to come to an anchor, not knowing what they might be, or what they might attempt against us, when they knew what we were: however, as we wanted fresh water, we sent the two boats belonging to the Portuguese man-of-war, with all Portuguese seamen or negroes in them, to the watering-place, to take in water; and in the mean time, we hung out a Portuguese ancient at sea, and lay by all that night. They knew not what we were; but it seems we past for anything but what we really were.

Our boats returning the third time loaden, about five o'clock next morning, we thought ourselves sufficiently watered, and stood away to the eastward; but, before our men returned the last time, the wind blowing an easy gale at west, we per-

ceived a boat in the grey of the morning under sail, crowding to come up with us, as if they were afraid we should be gone. We soon found it was an English longboat, and that it was pretty full of men: we could not imagine what the meaning of it should be; but, as it was but a boat, we thought no great harm in it to let them come on board; and if it appeared they came only to inquire who we were, we would give them a full account of our business, by taking them along with us, seeing we wanted men as much as anything; but they saved us the labour of being in doubt how to dispose of them, for it seems our Portuguese seamen, who went for water, had not been so silent at the watering-place as we thought they would have been. But the case, in short, was this: Captain —— (I forbear his name at present, for a particular reason), captain of the East India merchant-ship, bound afterwards for China, had found some reason to be very severe with his men, and had handled some of them very roughly at St. Helena; insomuch, that they threatened among themselves to leave the ship the first opportunity, and had long wished for that opportunity. Some of these men, it seems, had met with our boat at the watering-place, and inquiring of one another who we were, and upon what account; whether the Portuguese seamen, by faltering in their account, made them suspect that we were out upon a cruise, or whether they told it in plain English or no (for they all spoke English enough to be understood), but so it was, that, as soon as ever they carried the news on board, that the ships which lay by to the eastward were English, and that they were going upon the *account*, which, by the way, was a sea term for a pirate; I say, as soon as ever they heard it, they went to work, and getting all things ready in the night, their chests and clothes, and whatever else they could, they came away before it was day, and came up with us about seven o'clock.

When they came by the ship's side which I commanded, we hailed them in the usual manner, to know what and who they were, and what their business: they answered, they were Englishmen, and desired to come aboard: we told them they might lay the ship on board, but ordered they should let only one man enter the ship, till the captain knew their business, and that he should come without any arms: they said, Ay, ay, with all their hearts.

We presently found their business, and that they desired to go with us; and as for their arms, they desired we would send men on board the boat, and that they would deliver them all to us, which was done. The fellow that came up to me, told me how they had been used by the captain, how he had starved the men, and used them like dogs; and that, if the rest of the men knew they should be admitted, he was satisfied two-thirds of them would leave the ship. We found the fellows were hearty in their resolution, and jolly brisk sailors they were: so I told them I would do nothing without our admiral, that was the captain, of the other ship: so I sent my pinnace on board Captain Wilmot, to desire him to come on board; but he was indisposed, and being to leeward, excused his coming, but left it all to me: but before my boat was returned, Captain Wilmot called to me by his speaking trumpet, which all the men might hear as well as I; thus, calling me by my name, I hear they are honest fellows; pray tell them they are all welcome, and make them a bowl of punch.

As the men heard it as well as I, there was no need to tell them what the captain said; and, as soon as the trumpet had done, they set up a huzza, that showed us they were very hearty in their coming to us; but we bound them to us by a stronger obligation still after this: for, when we came to Madagascar, Captain Wilmot, with consent of the ship's company, ordered that these men should have as much money given them out of the stock as was due to them for their pay in the ship they had left; and after that, we allowed them twenty pieces of eight a man bounty money; and thus we entered them upon shares, as we were all, and brave stout fellows they were, being eighteen in number, whereof two were midshipmen, and one a carpenter.

It was the 28th of November, when, having had some bad weather, we came to an anchor in the road off St. Augustine bay, at the south-west end of my old acquaintance the isle of Madagascar: we lay here awhile, and trafficked with the natives, for some good beef; though the weather was so hot, that we could not promise ourselves to salt any of it up to keep; but I showed them the way which we practised before, to salt it first with saltpetre, then cure it, by drying it in the sun, which made it eat very agreeably, though not so wholesome for our men, that not agreeing with our way of cooking,

viz., boiling with pudding, brewess, &c.; and particularly this way would be too salt, and the fat of the meat be rusty, or dried away, so as not to be eaten.

This, however, we could not help, and made ourselves amends by feeding heartily on the fresh beef while we were there, which was excellent good and fat, every way as tender and as well relished as in England, and thought to be much better to us who had not tasted any in England for so long a time.

Having now for some time remained here, we began to consider that this was not a place for our business; and I, that had some views a particular way of my own, told them, that this was not a station for those who looked for purchase; that there were two parts of the island which were particularly proper for our purposes; first, the bay on the east side of the island, and from thence to the island Mauritius, which was the usual way which ships that came from the Malabar coast, or the coast of Coromandel, Fort St. George, &c., used to take, and where, if we waited for them, we ought to take our station.

But, on the other hand, as we did not resolve to fall upon the European traders, who were generally ships of force, and well manned, and where blows must be looked for; so I had another prospect, which I promised myself would yield equal profit, or perhaps greater, without any of the hazard and difficulty of the former; and this was the gulf of Mocha, or the Red Sea.

I told them that the trade here was great, the ships rich, and the strait of Babelmandel narrow; so that there was no doubt but we might cruise so as to let nothing slip our hands, having the seas open from the Red Sea, along the coast of Arabia to the Persian Gulf, and the Malabar side of the Indies.

I told them what I had observed when I sailed round the island, in my former progress, how that, on the northernmost point of the island, there were several very good harbours and roads for our ships; that the natives were even more civil and tractable, if possible, than those where we were, not having been so often ill-treated by European sailors as those had in the south and east sides; and that we might always be sure of a retreat, if we were driven to put in by any necessity, either of enemies or of weather.

They were easily convinced of the reasonableness of my scheme; and Captain Wilmot, whom I now called our Admiral, though he was at first of the mind to go and lie at the island Mauritius, and wait for some of the European merchant-ships from the road of Coromandel, or the bay of Bengal, was now of my mind. It is true, we were strong enough to have attacked an English East India ship of the greatest force, though some of them were said to carry fifty guns; but I represented to him, that we were sure to have blows and blood if we took them; and, after we had done, their loading was not of equal value to us, because we had no room to dispose of their merchandise; and, as our circumstances stood, we had rather have taken one outward-bound East India ship, with her ready cash on board, perhaps to the value of forty or fifty thousand pounds, than three homeward-bound, though their loading would at London be worth three times the money; because we knew not whither to go to dispose of the cargo; whereas the ships from London had abundance of things we knew how to make use us, besides their money; such as their stores of provisions and liquors, and great quantities of the like sent to the governors and factories at the English settlements, for their use; so that, if we resolved to look for our own country ships, it should be those that were outward-bound, not the London ships homeward.

All these things considered, brought the admiral to be of my mind entirely; so, after taking in water and some fresh provisions where we lay, which was near Cape St. Mary, on the south-west corner of the island, we weighed, and stood away south, and afterwards S.S.E. to round the island, and in about six days' sail, got out of the wake of the island, and steered away north, till we came off Port Dauphin, and then north by east, to the latitude of 13 degrees 40 minutes, which was, in short, just at the farthest part of the island; and the admiral keeping ahead, made the open sea fair to the west, clear of the whole island; upon which he brought to, and we sent a sloop to stand in round the farthest point north, and coast along the shore, and see for a harbour to put into, which they did, and soon brought us an account, that there was a deep bay, with a very good road, and several little islands, under which they found good riding, in ten to seventeen fathom water, and accordingly there we put in.

However, we afterwards found occasion to remove our station, as you shall hear presently. We had now nothing to do, but go on shore, and acquaint ourselves a little with the natives, take in fresh provisions, and then to sea again. We found the people very easy to deal with; and some cattle they had; but it being at the extremity of the island, they had not such quantities of cattle here. However, for the present, we resolved to appoint this for our place of rendezvous, and go and look out. This was about the latter end of April.

Accordingly we put to sea, and cruised away to the northward, for the Arabian coast: it was a long run; but as the winds generally blow trade from the south and S.S.E. from May to September, we had good weather; and in about twenty days we made the island of Saccatia, lying south from the Arabian coast, and E.S.E. from the mouth of the gulf of Mocha, or the Red Sea.

Here we took in water, and stood off and on upon the Arabian shore. We had not cruised here above three days, or thereabouts, before I spied a sail, and gave her chase; but when we came up with her, never was such a poor prize chased by pirates that looked for booty; for we found nothing in her, but poor, half-naked Turks, going a pilgrimage to Mecca to the tomb of their prophet Mahomet. The junk that carried them had no one thing worth taking away, but a little rice, and some coffee, which was all the poor wretches had for their subsistence; so we let them go, for indeed we knew not what to do with them.

The same evening we chased another junk with two masts, and in something better plight to look at than the former. When we came on board, we found them upon the same errand, but only that they were people of some better fashion than the other; and here we got some plunder, some Turkish stores, a few diamonds, in the ear-drops of five or six persons, some fine Persian carpets, of which they made their saffras to lie upon, and some money; so we let them go also.

We continued here eleven days longer, and saw nothing but now and then a fishing-boat; but the twelfth day of our cruise, we spied a ship: indeed I thought at first it had been an English ship; but it appeared to be an European,

freighted for a voyage from Goa, on the coast of Malabar, to the Red Sea, and was very rich. We chased her, and took her without any fight, though they had some guns on board too, but not many. We found her manned with Portuguese seamen, but under the direction of five merchant Turks, who had hired her on the coast of Malabar of some Portugal merchants, and had loaden her with pepper, saltpetre, some spices, and the rest of the loading was chiefly calicoes and wrought silks, some of them very rich.

We took her, and carried her to Saccatia; but we really knew not what to do with her, for the same reasons as before; for all their goods were of little or no value to us. After some days, we found means to let one of the Turkish merchants know, that if he would ransom the ship, we would take a sum of money, and let them go. He told me, if I would let one of them go on shore for the money, they would do it: so we adjusted the value of the cargo at 30,000 ducats. Upon this agreement, we allowed the sloop to carry him on shore at Dofar in Arabia, where a rich merchant laid down the money for them, and came off with our sloop; and on payment of the money, we very fairly and honestly let them go.

Some days after this, we took an Arabian junk, going from the gulf of Persia to Mocha, with a good quantity of pearl on board. We gutted him of the pearl, which, it seems, was belonging to some merchants at Mocha, and let him go; for there was nothing else worth our taking.

We continued cruising up and down here, till we began to find our provisions grow low, when Captain Wilmot, our admiral, told us, it was time to think of going back to the rendezvous; and the rest of the men said the same, being a little weary of beating about for above three months together, and meeting with little or nothing, compared to our great expectations; but I was very loath to part with the Red Sea at so cheap a rate, and pressed them to tarry a little longer, which at my instance we did; but three days afterwards, to our great misfortune, we understood, that, by landing the Turkish merchants at Dofar, we had alarmed the coast as far as the gulf of Persia, so that no vessel would stir that way, and consequently nothing was to be expected on that side.

I was greatly mortified at this news, and could no longer withstand the importunities of the men, to return to Madagascar. However, as the winds continued still to blow at S.S.E. to E. by S., we were obliged to stand away towards the coast of Africa, and the Cape Guardefoy, the winds being more variable under the shore than in the open sea.

Here we chopped upon a booty which we did not look for, and which made amends for all our waiting; for, the very same hour that we made land, we spied a large vessel sailing along the shore, to the southward. The ship was of Bengal, belonging to the Great Mogul's country, but had on board a Dutch pilot, whose name, if I remember right, was Vandergest, and several European seamen, whereof three were English. She was in no condition to resist us. The rest of her seamen were Indians of the Mogul's subjects, some Malabars, and some others. There were five Indian merchants on board, and some Armenians. It seems they had been at Mocha with spices, silks, diamonds, pearls, calico, &c., such goods as the country afforded, and had little on board now but money, in pieces of eight, which, by the way, was just what we wanted; and the three English seamen came along with us; and the Dutch pilot would have done so too, but the two Armenian merchants entreated us not to take him; for that, he being their pilot, there was none of the men knew how to guide the ship: so, at their request, we refused him; but we made them promise he should not be used ill for being willing to go with us.

We got near two hundred thousand pieces of eight in this vessel; and, if they said true, there was a Jew of Goa, who intended to have embarked with them, who had two hundred thousand pieces of eight with him, all his own; but his good fortune hindered him; for he fell sick at Mocha, and could not be ready to travel, which was the saving of his money.

CHAPTER XIII.

WILLIAM'S DREAM, AND STRANGE ADVENTURE IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF—JOIN CAPTAIN WILMOT AT MANGAHELLY—CAPTAIN AVERY JOINS US—DISSENSIONS ARISE AMONGST US—WE PART COMPANY, AND I LEAVE THEM, HAVING THE GREAT SHIP UNDER MY COMMAND—OCCURRENCES OF OUR VOYAGE.

THERE was none with me at the taking this prize, but the sloop; for Captain Wilmot's ship proving leaky, he went away for the rendezvous before us, and arrived there the middle of December; but not liking the port, he left a great cross on shore, with directions written on a plate of lead fixed to it, for us to come after him to the great bay at Mangahelly, where we found a very good harbour; but we learned a piece of news here, that kept us from him a great while, which the admiral took offence at; but we stopped his mouth with his share of two hundred thousand pieces of eight to him and his ship's crew. But the story which interrupted our coming to him was this. Between Mangahelly, and another point, called Cape St. Sebastian, there came on shore, in the night, an European ship; and whether stress of weather, or want of a pilot, I know not, but the ship stranded, and could not be got off.

We lay in the cove, or harbour, where, as I have said, our rendezvous was appointed, and had not yet been on shore; so we had not seen the directions our admiral had left for us.

Our friend William, of whom I have said nothing a great while, had a great mind one day to go on shore, and importuned me to let him have a little troop to go with him, for safety, that they might see the country. I was mightily against it for many reasons; but particularly I told him, he knew the natives were but savages, and they were very treacherous, and I desired him that he would not go; and, had he gone on much farther, I believe I should have downright refused him, and commanded him not to go.

But, in order to persuade me to let him go, he told me, he would give me an account of the reason why he was so im-

portunate. He told me, the last night he had a dream, which was so forcible, and made such an impression upon his mind, that he could not be quiet till he had made the proposal to me to go; and, if I refused him, then he thought his dream was significant; and if not, then his dream was at an end.

His dream was, he said, that he went on shore with thirty men, of which the cockswain, he said, was one, upon the island; and that they found a mine of gold, and enriched them all. But this was not the main thing, he said; but that the same morning he had dreamed so, the cockswain came to him just then, and told him, that he dreamed he went on shore on the island of Madagascar, and that some men came to him, and told him they would show him where he could get a prize which would make them all rich.

These two things put together began to weigh with me a little, though I was never inclined to give any heed to dreams; but William's importunity turned me effectually; for I always put a great deal of stress upon his judgment; so that, in short, I gave them leave to go; but I charged them not to go far off from the sea-coast; that, if they were forced down to the sea-side upon any occasion, we might perhaps see them, and fetch them off with our boats.

They went away early in the morning, one-and-thirty men of them in number, very well armed, and very stout fellows: they travelled all the day, and at night made us a signal that all was well, from the top of a hill, which we had agreed on, by making a great fire.

Next day they marched down the hill, on the other side, inclining towards the sea-side, as they had promised, and saw a very pleasant valley before them, with a river in the middle of it, which, a little farther below them, seemed to be big enough to bear small ships: they marched apace towards this river, and were surprised with the noise of a piece going off; which, by the sound, could not be far off: they listened long, but could hear no more, so they went on to the river-side, which was a very fine fresh stream, but widened apace; and they kept on by the banks of it, till, almost at once, it opened or widened into a good large creek, or harbour, about five miles from the sea; and that which was still more surprising, as they marched forward, they plainly saw, in the mouth of the harbour, or creek, the wreck of a ship.

The tide was up, as we call it, so that it did not appear very much above the water; but, as they made downwards, they found it grow bigger and bigger; and the tide soon after ebbing out, they found it lay dry upon the sands, and appeared to be the wreck of a considerable vessel, larger than could be expected in that country.

After some time, William, taking out his glass, to look at it more nearly, was surprised with hearing a musket-shot whistle by him; and, immediately after that, he heard the gun, and saw the smoke from the other side; upon which our men immediately fired three muskets, to discover, if possible, what or who they were. Upon the noise of these guns, abundance of men came running down to the shore, from among the trees; and our men could easily perceive that they were Europeans, though they knew not of what nation; however, our men hallooed to them as loud as they could; and by and by they got a long pole, and set it up, and hung a white shirt upon it for a flag of truce. They, on the other side, saw it, by the help of their glasses too; and quickly after, our men saw a boat launch off from shore, as they thought; but it was from another creek, it seems; and immediately they came rowing over the creek to our men, carrying also a white flag as a token of truce.

It is not easy to describe the surprise, or joy and satisfaction, that appeared on both sides, to see not only white men, but Englishmen, in a place so remote; but what then must it be, when they came to know one another, to find that they were not only countrymen, but comrades; and that this was the very ship that Captain Wilmot, our admiral, commanded, and whose company we had lost in the storm at Tobago, after making an agreement to rendezvous at Madagascar!

They had, it seems, got intelligence of us, when they came to the south part of the island, and had been a roving as far as the gulf of Bengal, when they met Captain Avery, with whom they joined, took several rich prizes, and, amongst the rest, one ship with the Great Mogul's daughter, and an immense treasure in money and jewels; and from thence they came about the coast of Coromandel, and afterwards that of Malabar, into the gulf of Persia, where they also took some prize, and then designed for the south part of Madagascar; but the winds blowing hard at S.E. and S.E. by E., they came to the northward of the isle, and being, after that,

separated by a furious tempest from the N.W., they were forced into the mouth of that creek, where they lost their ship. And they told us also, that they heard that Captain Avery himself had lost his ship also, not far off.

When they had thus acquainted one another with their fortunes, the poor overjoyed men were in haste to go back to communicate their joy to their comrades; and leaving some of their men with ours, the rest went back; and William was so earnest to see them, that he and two more went back with them; and there he came to their little camp, where they lived. There were about a hundred and sixty men of them in all: they had got their guns on shore, and some ammunition; but a good deal of their powder was spoiled; however, they had raised a fair platform, and mounted twelve pieces of cannon upon it, which was a sufficient defence to them on that side of the sea; and just at the end of the platform they had made a launch, and a little yard, and were all hard at work, building another little ship, as I may call it, to go to sea in; but they put a stop to this work upon the news they had of our being come in.

When our men went into their huts, it was surprising indeed to see the vast stock of wealth they had got, in gold, and silver, and jewels, which, however, they told us was a trifle to what Captain Avery had, wherever he was gone.

It was five days we had waited for our men, and no news of them; and indeed I gave them over for lost; but was surprised, after five days waiting, to see a ship's boat come rowing towards us along shore. What to make of it I could not tell, but was at last better satisfied, when our men told me they heard them halloo, and saw them wave their caps to us.

In a little time they came quite up to us; and I saw friend William stand in the boat, and make signs to us: so they came on board; but when I saw there were but fifteen of our one-and-thirty men, I asked what was become of their fellows: O, says William, they are all very well; and my dream is fully made good, and the cockswain's too.

This made me very impatient to know how the case stood: so he told us the whole story, which, indeed surprised us all. The next day we weighed, and stood away southerly to join Captain Wilmot, and his ship, at Mangahelly, where we found him, as I said, a little chagrined at our stay; but we

pacified him afterwards with telling him the history of William's dream, and the consequence of it.

In the mean time, the camp of our comrades was so near Mangahelly, that our admiral, and I, friend William, and some of the men, resolved to take the sloop, and go and see them, and fetch them all, and their goods, bag and baggage, on board our ship, which accordingly we did, and found their camp, their fortifications, the battery of guns they had erected, their treasure, and all the men, just as William had related it; so, after some stay, we took all the men into the sloop, and brought them away with us.

It was some time before we knew what was become of Captain Avery; but after about a month, by the direction of the men who had lost their ship, we sent the sloop to cruise along the shore, to find out, if possible, where they were; and in about a week's cruise, our men found them; and particularly, that they had lost their ship, as well as our men had lost theirs, and that they were every way in as bad a condition as ours.

It was about ten days before the sloop returned, and Captain Avery with them; and this was the whole force that, as I remember, Captain Avery ever had with him; for now we joined all our companies together, and it stood thus: we had two ships and a sloop, in which we had three hundred and twenty men, but much too few to man them as they ought to be; the great Portuguese ship requiring of herself near four hundred men to man her completely. As for our lost, but now found, comrade, her complement of men was one hundred and eighty, or thereabouts; and Captain Avery had about three hundred men with him, whereof he had ten carpenters with him, most of which were found aboard the prize they had taken; so that, in a word, all the force Avery had at Madagascar, in the year 1699, or thereabouts, amounted to our three ships, for his own was lost, as you have heard, and never had any more than about twelve hundred men in all.

It was about a month after this, that all our crews got together; and, as Avery was unshipped, we all agreed to bring our own company into the Portuguese man-of-war and the sloop, and give Captain Avery the Spanish frigate, with all the tackles and furniture, guns and ammunition, for his crew by themselves; for which they, being full of wealth, agreed to give us forty thousand pieces of eight.

It was next considered what course we should take. Captain Avery, to give him his due, proposed our building a little city here, establishing ourselves on shore, with a good fortification, and works proper to defend ourselves; and that, as we had wealth enough, and could increase it to what degree we pleased, we should content ourselves to retire here, and bid defiance to the world. But I soon convinced him that this place would be no security to us, if we pretended to carry on our cruising trade; for that then all the nations of Europe, and indeed of that part of the world, would be engaged to root us out; but if we resolved to live there as in a retirement, and plant in the country, as private men, and give over our trade of pirating, then indeed we might plant, and settle ourselves where we pleased; but then I told him, the best way would be to treat with the natives, and buy a tract of land of them, farther up the country, seated upon some navigable river, where boats might go up and down for pleasure, but not ships to endanger us: that thus planting the high ground with cattle, such as cows and goats, of which the country also was full, to be sure we might live here as well as any men in the world; and I owned to him, I thought it was a good retreat for those that were willing to leave off, and lay down, and yet did not care to venture home and be hanged; that is to say, to run the risk of it.

Captain Avery, however, made no positive discovery of his intentions: he seemed to me to decline my notion of going up into the country to plant: on the contrary, it was apparent he was of Captain Wilmot's opinion,—that they might maintain themselves on shore, and yet carry on their cruising trade too; and upon this they resolved; but, as I afterwards understood, about fifty of their men went up the country, and settled themselves in an inland place, as a colony. Whether they are there still, or not, I cannot tell, or how many of them are left alive; but it is my opinion they are there still, and that they are considerably increased; for, as I hear, they have got some women among them, though not many; for it seems five Dutch women, and three or four little girls, were taken by them in a Dutch ship, which they afterwards took going to Mocha; and three of those women, marrying some of these men, went with them to live in their new plantation: but of this I speak only by hearsay.

As we lay here some time, I found our people mightily divided in their notions; some were for going this way, and some that, till at last I began to foresee they would part company, and perhaps we should not have men enough to keep together to man the great ship; so I took Captain Wilmot aside, and began to talk to him about it, but soon perceived that he inclined himself to stay at Madagascar, and, having got a vast wealth for his own share, had secret designs of getting home some way or other.

I argued the impossibility of it, and the hazard he would run, either of falling into the hands of thieves and murderers in the Red Sea, who would never let such a treasure as his was pass their hands, or of his falling into the hands of the English, Dutch, or French, who would certainly hang him for a pirate. I gave him an account of the voyage I had made from this very place to the continent of Africa, and what a journey it was to travel on foot.

In short, nothing could persuade him, but he would go into the Red Sea with the sloop, and where the children of Israel passed through the sea dryshod, and landing there, would travel to Grand Cairo by land, which is not above eighty miles; and from thence he said he could ship himself, by the way of Alexandria, to any part of the world.

I represented the hazard, and indeed the impossibility, of his passing by Mocha and Judda without being attacked, if he offered it by force, or plundered, if he went to get leave; and explained the reasons of it so much, and so effectually, that, though at last he would not hearken to it himself, none of his men would go with him. They told him, they would go anywhere with him to serve him, but that this was running himself and them into certain destruction, without any possibility of avoiding it, or probability of answering his end. The captain took what I said to him quite wrong, and pretended to resent it, and gave me some buccaneer words upon it: but I gave him no return to it but this; that I advised him for his advantage; that, if he did not understand it so, it was his fault, not mine; that I did not forbid to go, nor had I offered to persuade any of the men not to go with him, though it was to their apparent destruction.

However, warm heads are not easily cooled: the captain was so eager, that he quitted our company, and, with most of his crew, went over to Captain Avery, and sorted with

his people, taking all the treasure with him, which, by the way, was not very fair in him, we having agreed to share all our gains, whether more or less, whether absent or present.

Our men muttered a little at it; bnt I pacified them as well as I could, and told them it was easy for us to get as much, if we minded our hits: and Captain Wilmot had set us a very good example; for, by the same rule, the agreement of any farther sharing of profits with them was at an end. I took this occasion to put into their heads some part of my farther designs, which were, to range over the eastern sea, and see if we could not make ourselves as rich as Mr. Avery, who, it was true, had gotten a prodigious deal of money, though not one half of what was said of it in Europe.

Our men were so pleased with my forward, enterprising temper, that they assured me that they would go with me, one and all, over the whole globe, wherever I would carry them; and as for Captain Wilmot, they would have nothing more to do with him. This came to his ears, and put him into a great rage; so that he threatened, if I came on shore, he would cut my throat.

I had information of it privately, but took no notice of it at all; only I took care not to go unprovided for him, and seldom walked about but in very good company. However, at last Captain Wilmot and I met, and talked over the matter very seriously; and I offered him the sloop to go where he pleased; or, if he was not satisfied with that, I offered to take the sloop, and leave him the great ship: but he declined both, and only desired that I would leave him six carpenters, which I had in our ship more than I had need of, to help his men to finish the sloop that was begun before we came thither, by the men that lost their ship. This I consented readily to, and lent him several other hands that were useful to them; and in a little time they built a stout brigantine, able to carry fourteen guns, and two hundred men.

What measures they took, and how Captain Avery managed afterwards, is too long a story to meddle with here; nor is it any of my business, having my own story still upon my hands.

We lay here, about these several simple disputes, almost five months, when, about the latter end of March, I set sail with the great ship, having in her forty-four guns and four

hundred men, and the sloop, carrying eighty men. We did not steer to the Malabar coast, and so to the gulf of Persia, as was at first intended, the east monsoons blowing yet too strong; but we kept more under the African coast, where we had the wind variable till we passed the line, and made the Cape Bassa, in the latitude of 4 degrees 10 minutes: from thence, the monsoons beginning to change to the N.E. and N.N.E. we led it away, with the wind large, to the Maldives, a famous lodge of islands, well known by all the sailors who have gone into those parts of the world; and, leaving these islands a little to the south, we made Cape Comorin, the southernmost land of the coast of Malabar, and went round the isle of Ceylon. Here we lay by awhile, to wait for purchase; and here we saw three large English East-India ships going from Bengal, or from Fort St. George, homeward for England, or rather for Bombay and Surat, till the trade set in.

We brought to, and, hoisting an English ancient and pendant, lay by for them, as if we intended to attack them. They could not tell what to make of us a good while, though they saw our colours; and, I believe, at first they thought us to be French; but as they came nearer to us, we let them soon see what we were, for we hoisted a black flag, with two cross daggers in it, on our main top-mast head, which let them see what they were to expect.

We soon found the effects of this; for at first they spread their ancients, and made up to us in a line, as if they would fight us, having the wind off shore, fair enough to have brought them on board us; but when they saw what force we were of, and found we were cruisers of another kind, they stood away from us again, with all the sail they could make. If they had come up, we should have given them an unexpected welcome; but as it was, we had no mind to follow them; so we let them go, for the same reasons which I mentioned before.

But though we let them pass, we did not design to let others go at so easy a price. It was but the next morning that we saw a sail standing round Cape Comorin, and steering, as we thought, the same course with us. We knew not at first what to do with her, because she had the shore on her larboard quarter; and if we offered to chase her, she might

put into any port or creek, and escape us; but, to prevent this, we sent the sloop, to get in between her and the land. As soon as she saw that, she haled in to keep the land aboard; and when the sloop stood towards her, she made right ashore, with all the canvas she could spread.

The sloop, however, came up with her, and engaged her, and found she was a vessel of ten guns, Portuguese built, but in the Dutch traders' hands, and manned by Dutchmen, who were bound from the gulf of Persia to Batavia, to fetch spices and other goods from thence. The sloop's men took her, and had the rummaging of her, before we came up. She had in her some European goods, and a good round sum of money, and some pearl; so that, though we did not go to the gulf for the pearl, the pearl came to us out of the gulf, and we had our share of it. This was a rich ship, and the goods were of very considerable value, besides the money and the pearl.

We had a long consultation here, what we should do with the men; for, to give them the ship, and let them pursue their voyage to Java, would be to alarm the Dutch factory there, who are by far the strongest in the Indies, and to make our passage that way impracticable; whereas we resolved to visit that part of the world in our way, but were not willing to pass the great Bay of Bengal, where we hoped for a great deal of purchase; and therefore it behoved us not to be waylaid before we came there, because they knew we must pass by the Straits of Malacca, or those of Sunda; and either way it was very easy to prevent us.

While we were consulting this in the great cabin, the men had had the same debate before the mast; and it seems the majority there were for pickling up the poor Dutchmen among the herrings; in a word, they were for throwing them all into the sea. Poor William the quaker was in great concern about this, and comes directly to me to talk about it. Hark thee, says William, what wilt thou do with these Dutchmen thou hast on board? Thou wilt not let them go, I suppose, says he. Why, says I, William, would you advise me to let them go? No, says William, I cannot say it is fit for thee to let them go; that is to say, to go on with their voyage to Batavia, because it is not for thy turn that the Dutch at Batavia should have any knowledge of thy being

in these seas. Well, then, says I to him, I know no remedy but to throw them overboard. You know, William, says I, a Dutchman swims like a fish: and all our people here are of the same opinion as well as I. At the same time, I resolved it should not be done, but wanted to hear what William would say. He gravely replied, If all the men in the ship were of that mind, I will never believe that thou wilt be of that mind thyself; for I have heard thee protest against cruelty in all other cases. Well, William, says I, that is true; but what then shall we do with them? Why, says William, is there no way but to murder them? I am persuaded thou canst not be in earnest. No, indeed, William, say I, I am not in earnest; but they shall not go to Java, no, nor to Ceylon, that is certain. But, says William, the men have done thee no injury at all: what canst thou pretend to hurt them for? Nay, William, says I, do not talk of that; I have pretence enough, if that be all: my pretence is, to prevent doing me hurt; and that is as necessary a piece of the law of self-preservation as any you can name: but the main thing is, I know not what to do with them, to prevent their prating.

While William and I were talking, the poor Dutchmen were openly condemned to die, as it may be called, by the whole ship's company; and so warm were the men upon it, that they grew very clamorous; and when they heard that William was against it, some of them swore they should die, and, if William opposed it, he should drown along with them.

But as I was resolved to put an end to their cruel project, so I found it was time to take upon me a little, or the bloody humour might grow too strong; so I called the Dutchmen up, and talked a little with them. First, I asked them if they were willing to go with us; two of them offered it presently; but the rest, which were fourteen, declined it. Well then, said I, where would you go? They desired they should go to Ceylon. No, I told them, I could not allow them to go to any Dutch factory, and told them very plainly the reasons of it, which they could not deny to be just. I let them know also the cruel bloody measures of our men, but that I had resolved to save them, if possible; and therefore I told them, I would set them on shore at some English factory at Bengal, or put them on board an English

ship I met, after I was past the Straits of Sunda or of Malacca, but not before; for, as to my coming back again, I told them, I would run the venture of their Dutch power from Batavia; but I would not have the news come there before me, because it would make all their merchant-ships lay up, and keep out of our way.

It came next into our consideration, what we should do with the ship: but this was not long resolving; for there were but two ways, either to set her on fire, or to run her on shore; and we chose the last: so we set her fore-sail with the tack at the cat-head, and lashed her helm a little to starboard, to answer her head-sail, and so set her a-going, with neither cat nor dog in her; and it was not above two hours before we saw her run right ashore upon the coast, a little beyond the Cape Comorin; and away we went round about Ceylon, for the coast of Coromandel.

We sailed along there, not in sight of the shore only, but so near as to see the ships in the road at Fort St. David, Fort St. George, and at the other factories along that shore, as well as along the coast of Golconda, carrying our English ancient when we came near the Dutch factories, and Dutch colours when we passed by the English factories. We met with little purchase upon this coast, except two small vessels of Golconda, bound cross the bay with bales of calicoes and muslins, and wrought silks, and fifteen bales of romals, from the bottom of the bay, which were going, on whose account we knew not, to Achin, and to other ports on the coast of Malacca; we did not inquire to what place in particular; but we let the vessels go, having none but Indians on board.

In the bottom of the bay we met with a great junk, belonging to the Mogul's court, with a great many people, passengers as we supposed them to be: it seems, they were bound for the river Hugely, or Ganges, and came from Sumatra. This was a prize worth taking indeed; and we got so much gold in her, besides other goods which we did not meddle with, pepper in particular, that it had like to have put an end to our cruise; for almost all my men said we were rich enough, and desired to go back again to Madagascar: but I had other things in my head still; and when I came to talk to them, and set friend William to talk with them, we put such further golden hopes

into their heads, that we soon prevailed with them to let us go on.

My next design was, to leave all the dangerous Straits of Malacca, Sincapore, and Sunda, where we could expect no great booty, but what we might light on in European ships, which we must fight for; and though we were able to fight, and wanted no courage, even to desperation; yet we were rich too, and resolved to be richer, and took this for our maxim, that while we were sure the wealth we sought was to be had without fighting, we had no occasion to put ourselves to the necessity of fighting for that which would come upon easy terms.

CHAPTER XIV.

DANGEROUS ADVENTURE — CONSEQUENCES OF A BLAST OF LIGHTNING — WILLIAM LEAVES THE SHIP ON A TRADING SCHEME — WE MAKE THE ISLAND OF FORMOSA — WILLIAM RETURNS, AFTER HAVING BEEN CIVILLY TREATED BY THE CHINESE, WITH WHOM WE BEGIN TRADING — STRANGE ACCOUNT OF THIRTEEN ENGLISHMEN RESIDENT IN JAPAN.

We left, therefore, the Bay of Bengal, and coming to the coast of Sumatra, we put in at a small port, where there was a town, inhabited only by Malayans; and here we took in fresh water, and a large quantity of good pork pickled up, and well salted, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, being in the very middle of the torrid zone, viz., in 3 degrees 15 minutes north latitude. We also took on board both our vessels, forty hogs alive, which served us for fresh provisions, having abundance of food for them, such as the country produced; such as guams, potatoes, and a sort of coarse rice, good for nothing else but to feed the swine. We killed one of these hogs every day, and found them to be excellent meat. We took in also a monstrous quantity of ducks, and cocks and hens, the same kind as we have in England, which we kept for change of provisions; and, if I remember right, we had no less than two thousand of them; so that at first we were pestered with them very much, but we soon lessened them by boiling, roasting, stewing, &c., for we never wanted while we had them.

My long projected design now lay open to me, which was, to fall amongst the Dutch Spice Islands, and see what mischief I could do there; accordingly, we put out to sea, the 12th of August, and passing the line on the 17th, we stood away due south, leaving the Straits of Sunda, and the isle of Java, on the east, till we came to the latitude of 11 degrees 20 minutes, when we steered east and E.N.E. having easy gales from the W.S.W. till we came among the Moluccas, or Spice Islands.

We passed those seas with less difficulty than in other places, the winds to the south of Java being more variable, and the weather good, though sometimes we met with squally weather, and short storms; but when we came in among the Spice Islands themselves, we had a share of the monsoons, or trade winds, and made use of them accordingly.

The infinite number of islands which lie in these seas, embarrassed us strangely, and it was with great difficulty that we worked our way through them; then we steered for the north side of the Philippines, where we had a double chance for purchase, viz., either to meet with the Spanish ships from Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain, or we were certain not to fail of finding some ships or junks of China, who, if they came from China, would have a great quantity of goods of value on board, as well as money; or, if we took them going back, we should find them loaden with nutmegs and cloves from Banda and Ternate, or from some of the other islands.

We were right in our guesses here to a tittle, and we steered directly through a large outlet, which they call a strait, though it be fifteen miles broad, and to an island they call Daurma, and from thence N.N.E. to Banda. Between these islands we met with a Dutch junk, or vessel, going to Amboyna: we took her without much trouble, and I had much ado to prevent our men murdering all the men, as soon as they heard them say they belonged to Amboyna: the reason I suppose any one will guess.*

We took out of her about sixteen tons of nutmegs, some provisions, and their small arms, for they had no great guns, and let the ship go: from thence we sailed directly to the

* The cruelties of the Dutch to the English at Amboyna. Dryden has written a play on this subject.

Banda island, or islands, where we were sure to get more nutmegs, if we thought fit. For my part, I would willingly have got more nutmegs, though I had paid for them, but our people abhorred paying for anything: so we got about twelve tons more at several times, most of them from shore, and only a few in a small boat of the natives, which was going to Gilolo. We would have traded openly, but the Dutch, who have made themselves masters of all those islands, forbid the people dealing with us, or any strangers whatever, and kept them so in awe, that they durst not do it; so we could indeed have made nothing of it if we had stayed longer, and therefore resolved to be gone for Ternate, and see if we could make up our loading with cloves.

Accordingly, we stood away north, but found ourselves so entangled among innumerable islands, and without any pilot that understood the channel and races between them, that we were obliged to give it over, and resolved to go back again to Banda, and see what we could get among the other islands thereabouts.

The first adventure we made here, had like to have been fatal to us all, for the sloop being ahead, made the signal to us for seeing a sail, and afterwards another, and a third, by which we understood she saw three sail: whereupon we made more sail to come up with her, but on a sudden were gotten among some rocks, falling foul upon them in such a manner as frightened us all very heartily: for having, it seems, but just water enough, as it were to an inch, our rudder struck upon the top of a rock, which gave us a terrible shock, and split a great piece off the rudder, and indeed disabled it so, that our ship would not steer at all, at least not so as to be depended upon; and we were glad to hand all our sails, except our fore-sail and main-top-sail, and with them we stood away to the east to see if we could find any creek or harbour where we might lay the ship on shore, and repair our rudder; besides, we found the ship herself had received some damage, for she had some little leak near her sternpost, but a great way under water.

By this mischance we lost the advantages, whatever they were, of the three sail of ships which we afterwards came to hear were small Dutch ships from Batavia, going to Banda and Amboyna, to load spice, and, no doubt, had a good quantity of money on board.

Upon the disaster I have been speaking of, you may very well suppose that we came to an anchor as soon as we could, which was upon a small island not far from Banda, where, though the Dutch keep no factory, yet they come at the season to buy nutmegs and mace. We stayed there thirteen days; but there being no place where we could lay the ship on shore, we sent the sloop to cruise among the islands, to look out for a place fit for us. In the meantime, we got very good water here, some provisions, roots, and fruits, and a good quantity of nutmegs and mace, which we found ways to trade with the natives for, without the knowledge of their masters, the Dutch.

At length our sloop returned; having found another island where there was a very good harbour, we ran in, and came to an anchor. We immediately unbent all our sails, sent them ashore upon the island, and set up seven or eight tents with them: then we unrigged our topmasts, and lowered them down, hoisted all our guns out, our provisions and plunder, and put them ashore in the tents. With the guns we made two small batteries, for fear of a surprise, and kept a look-out upon the hill. When we were all ready, we laid the ship aground upon a hard sand, the upper end of the harbour, and shored her up on each side. At low water she lay almost dry, so we mended her bottom, and stopped the leak, which was occasioned by straining some of the rudder irons with the shock which the ship had against the rock.

Having done this, we also took occasion to clean her bottom, which, having been at sea so long, was very foul. The sloop washed and tallowed also, but was ready before us, and cruised eight or ten days among the islands, but met with no purchase; so that we began to be tired of the place having little to divert us, but the most furious claps of thunder that ever were heard or read of in the world.

We were in hopes to have met with some purchase here among the Chinese, who, we had been told, came to Ternate to trade for cloves, and to the Banda isles for nutmegs; and we would have been very glad to have loaded our galleon, or great ship, with these two sorts of spice, and have thought it a glorious voyage; but we found nothing stirring more than what I have said, except Dutchmen, who, by what

means we could not imagine, had either a jealousy of us. or intelligence of us, and kept themselves close in their ports.

I was once resolved to have made a descent at the island of Dumas, the place most famous for the best nutmegs; but friend William, who was always for doing our business without fighting, dissuaded me from it, and gave such reasons for it, that we could not resist; particularly the great heats of the season, and of the place, for we were now in the latitude of just half a degree south; but while we were disputing this point, we were soon determined by the following accident. We had a strong gale of wind at S.W. by W. and the ship had fresh way, but a great sea rolling in upon us from the N.E., which we afterwards found was the pouring in of the great ocean east of New Guinea. However, as I said, we stood away large, and made fresh way, when, on the sudden, from a dark cloud which hovered over our heads, came a flash, or rather blast of lightning, which was so terrible, and quivered so long among us, that not I only, but all our men, thought the ship was on fire. The heat of the flash, or fire, was so sensibly felt in our faces, that some of our men had blisters raised by it on their skins, not immediately perhaps by the heat, but by the poisonous or noxious particles, which mixed themselves with the matter inflamed. But this was not all; the shock of the air, which the fracture of the clouds made, was such, that our ship shook as when a broadside is fired; and her motion being checked, as it were, at once, by a repulse superior to the force that gave her way before, the sails all flew back in a moment, and the ship lay, as we might truly say, thunder-struck. As the blast from the cloud was so very near us, it was but a few moments after the flash, that the terriblest clap of thunder followed that was ever heard by mortals. I firmly believe, a blast of a hundred thousand barrels of gunpowder could not have been greater to our hearing; nay, indeed, to some of our men it took away their hearing.

It is not possible for me to describe, or any one to conceive, the terror of that minute. Our men were in such a consternation, that not a man on board the ship had presence of mind to apply to the proper duty of a sailor, except friend William; and had he not run very nimbly, and with a composure that I am sure I was not master of, to let go the fore-sheet, set in the weather-brace of the fore-yard, and

haul down the top-sails, we had certainly brought all our masts by the board, and perhaps have been overwhelmed in the sea.

As for myself, I must confess my eyes were open to my danger, though not the least to anything of application for remedy. I was all amazement and confusion, and this was the first time that I can say I began to feel the effects of that horror which I know since much more of, upon the just reflection on my former life. I thought myself doomed by Heaven to sink that moment into eternal destruction; and with this peculiar mark of terror, viz., that the vengeance was not executed in the ordinary way of human justice, but that God had taken me into his immediate disposing, and had resolved to be the executor of his own vengeance.

Let them alone describe the confusion I was in, who know what was the case of —— Child of Shadwell, or Francis Spira. It is impossible to describe it. My soul was all amazement and surprise; I thought myself just sinking into eternity, owning the divine justice of my punishment, but not at all feeling any of the moving, softening tokens of a sincere penitent; afflicted at the punishment, but not at the crime; alarmed at the vengeance, but not terrified at the guilt; having the same gust to the crime, though terrified to the last degree at the thought of the punishment, which I concluded I was just now going to receive.

But perhaps many that read this will be sensible of the thunder and lightning, that may think nothing of the rest, or rather may make a jest of it all; so I say no more of it at this time, but proceed to the story of the voyage. When the amazement was over, and the men began to come to themselves, they fell a-calling for one another, every one for his friend, or for those he had most respect for; and it was a singular satisfaction to find that nobody was hurt. The next thing was to inquire if the ship had received no damage, when the boatswain stepping forward, found that part of the head was gone, but not so as to endanger the bowsprit; so we hoisted our top-sails again, hauled aft the fore-sheet, braced the yards, and went our course as before. Nor can I deny but that we were all somewhat like the ship; our first astonishment being a little over, and that we found the ship swim again, we were soon the same irreligious

hardened crew that we were before, and I among the rest.

As we now steered, our course lay N.N.E. and we passed thus, with a fair wind, through the straight or channel between the island of Gilolo and the land of Nova Guinea, when we were soon in the open sea or ocean, on the south-east of the Philippines, being the great Pacific, or South Sea, where it may be said to join itself with the vast Indian Ocean.

As we passed into these seas, steering due north, so we soon crossed the line to the north side, and so sailed on towards Mindanao and Manilla, the chief of the Philippine islands, without meeting with any purchase, till we came to the northward of Manilla, and then our trade began; for here we took three Japanese vessels, though at some distance from Manilla. Two of them had made their market, and were going home with nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, &c., besides all sorts of European goods, brought with the Spanish ships from Acapulco. They had together eight-and-thirty tons of cloves, and five or six tons of nutmegs, and as much cinnamon. We took the spice, but meddled with very little of the European goods, they being, as we thought, not worth our while; but we were very sorry for it soon after, and therefore grew wiser upon the next occasion.

The third Japanese was the best prize to us; for he came with money, and a great deal of gold uncoined, to buy such goods as we mentioned above. We eased him of his gold, and did him no other harm, and, having no intention to stay long here, we stood away for China.

We were at sea above two months upon this voyage, beating it up against the wind, which blew steadily from the N.E. and within a point or two one way or other; and this indeed was the reason why we met with the more prizes in our voyage.

We were just gotten clear of the Philippines, and we purposed to go to the isle of Formosa, but the wind blew so fresh at N.N.E. that there was no making anything of it, and we were forced to put back to Laconia, the most northerly of those islands. We rode here very secure, and shifted our situation, not in view of any danger, for there was none, but for a better supply of provisions, which we found the people very willing to supply us with.

There lay, while we remained here, three very great galleons, or Spanish ships, from the South Seas; whether newly come in, or ready to sail, we could not understand at first; but as we found the China traders began to load and set forward to the north, we concluded the Spanish ships had newly unloaded their cargo, and these had been buying; so we doubted not but we should meet with purchase in the rest of our voyage, neither, indeed, could we well miss of it.

We stayed here till the beginning of May, when we were told the Chinese traders would set forward; for the northern monsoons end about the latter end of March, or beginning of April; so that they are sure of fair winds home. Accordingly we hired some of the country boats, which are very swift sailers, to go and bring us word how affairs stood at Manilla, and when the China junks would sail; and by this intelligence we ordered our matters so well, that, three days after we set sail, we fell in with no less than eleven of them; out of which, however, having, by misfortune of discovering ourselves, taken but three, we contented ourselves, and pursued our voyage to Formosa. In these three vessels we took, in short, such a quantity of cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, and mace, besides silver, that our men began to be of my opinion—that we were rich enough; and, in short, we had nothing to do now, but to consider by what methods to secure the immense treasure we had got.

I was secretly glad to hear that they were of this opinion; for I had long before resolved, if it was possible, to persuade them to think of returning, having fully perfected my first projected design, of rummaging among the Spice Islands; and all those prizes, which were exceeding rich at Manilla, was quite beyond my design.

But now I had heard what the men said, and how they thought we were very well, I let them know, by friend William, that I intended only to sail to the island of Formosa, where I should find opportunity to turn our spices and European goods into ready money, and that then I would tack about for the south, the northern monsoons being perhaps by that time also ready to set in. They all approved of my design, and willingly went forward; because, besides the winds, which would not permit until October to go to the south; I say, besides this, we were now a very deep ship, having near two hundred tons of goods on board, and

particularly some very valuable: the sloop also had a proportion.

With this resolution we went on cheerfully, when, within about twelve days' sail more, we made the island Formosa, at a great distance, but were ourselves shot beyond the southernmost part of the island, being to leeward, and almost upon the coast of China. Here we were a little at a loss, for the English factories were not far off, and we might be obliged to fight some of their ships, if we met with them; which, though we were able enough to do, yet we did not desire it, on many accounts, and particularly, because we did not think it was our business to have it known who we were, or that such a kind of people as we had been seen on the coast. However, we were obliged to keep up to the northward, keeping as good an offing as we could with respect to the coast of China. We had not sailed long, before we chased a small Chinese junk; and having taken her, we found she was bound to the island of Formosa, having no goods on board but some rice, and a small quantity of tea; but she had three Chinese merchants in her; and they told us they were going to meet a large vessel of their country, which came from Tonquin, and lay in a river in Formosa, whose name I forgot; and they were going to the Philippine Islands, with silks, muslins, calicoes, and such goods as are the product of China, and some gold; that their business was to sell their cargo, and buy spices and European goods.

This suited very well with our purpose; so I resolved now, that we would leave off being pirates, and turn merchants: so we told them what goods we had on board, and that, if they would bring their supercargoes or merchants on board, we would trade with them. They were very willing to trade with us, but terribly afraid to trust us: nor was it an unjust fear, for we had plundered them already of what they had. On the other hand, we were as diffident as they, and very uncertain what to do; but William the quaker put this matter into a way of barter. He came to me, and told me he really thought the merchants looked like fair men, that meant honestly. And besides, says William, it is their interest to be honest now; for, as they know upon what terms we got the goods we are to truck with them, so they know we can afford good pennyworths; and, in the next

place, it saves them going the whole voyage; so that the southerly monsoons yet holding, if they traded with us, they could immediately return with their cargo to China; though, by the way, we afterwards found they intended for Japan· but that was all one, for by this means they saved at least eight months' voyage. Upon these foundations, William said he was satisfied we might trust them: for, says William, I would as soon trust a man whose interest binds him to be just to me, as a man whose principle binds himself. Upon the whole, William proposed that two of the merchants should be left on board our ship as hostages, and that part of our goods should be loaded in their vessel, and let the third go with it into the port where their ship lay; and when he had delivered the spices, he should bring back such things as it was agreed should be exchanged. This was concluded on, and William the quaker ventured to go along with them; which, upon my word, I should not have cared to have done, nor was I willing that he should; but he went still upon the notion, that it was their interest to treat him friendly.

In the meantime we came to an anchor under a little island, in the latitude of 23 degrees 28 minutes, being just under the northern tropic, and about twenty leagues from the island. Here we lay thirteen days, and began to be very uneasy for my friend William; for they had promised to be back again in four days, which they might very easily have done. However, at the end of thirteen days we saw three sail coming directly to us, which a little surprised us all at first, not knowing what might be the case, and we began to put ourselves in a posture of defence; but as they came nearer us, we were soon satisfied: for the first vessel was that which William went in, who carried a flag of truce; and in a few hours they all came to an anchor, and William came on board us with a little boat, with the Chinese merchant in his company, and two other merchants, which seemed to be a kind of brokers for the rest.

Here he gave us an account how civilly he had been used; how they had treated him with all imaginable frankness and openness; that they had not only given him the full value of his spices and other goods which he carried, in gold, by good weight, but had loaded the vessel again with such goods as he knew we were willing to trade for; and that

afterwards they had resolved to bring the great ship out of the harbour, to lie where we were, that so we might make what bargain we thought fit; only William said he had promised, in our name, that we should use no violence with them, nor detain any of the vessels after we had done trading with them. I told him we would strive to outdo them in civility, and that we would make good every part of his agreement: in token whereof, I caused a white flag likewise to be spread at the poop of our great ship, which was the signal agreed on.

As to the third vessel which came with them, it was a kind of bark of the country, who, having intelligence of our design to traffic, came off to deal with us, bringing a great deal of gold, and some provisions, which at that time we were very glad of.

In short, we traded upon the high seas with these men, and indeed we made a very good market, and yet sold thieves' pennyworths too. We sold here above sixty tons of spice, chiefly cloves and nutmegs, and above two hundred bales of European goods, such as linen and woollen manufactures. We considered we should have occasion for some such things ourselves, and so we kept a good quantity of English stuffs, cloths, baize, &c., for ourselves. I shall not take up any of the little room I have left here, with the further particulars of our trade; it is enough to mention, that, except a parcel of tea, and twelve bales of fine China wrought silks, we took nothing in exchange for our goods but gold: so that the sum we took here in that glittering commodity amounted to above fifty thousand ounces, good weight.

When we had finished our barter, we restored the hostages, and gave the three merchants about the quantity of twelve hundred weight of nutmegs, and as many of cloves, with a handsome present of European linen and stuff for themselves, as a recompense for what we had taken from them; and so we sent them away exceedingly well satisfied.

Here it was that William gave me an account, that, while he was on board the Japanese vessel, he met with a kind of religious, or Japan priest, who spoke some words of English to him; and, being very inquisitive to know how he came to learn any of those words, he told him, that there was in his country thirteen Englishmen; he called them Englishmen very articulately and distinctly, for he had con-

versed with them very frequently and freely. He said they were all that were left of two-and-thirty men, who came on shore on the north side of Japan, being driven upon a great rock in a stormy night, where they lost their ship, and the rest of their men were drowned; that he had persuaded the king of his country to send boats off to the rock, or island, where the ship was lost, to save the rest of the men, and to bring them on shore; which was done, and they were used very kindly, and had houses built for them, and land given them to plant for provision; and that they lived by themselves.

He said he went frequently among them, to persuade them to worship their god (an idol, I suppose, of their own making), which, he said, they ungratefully refused; and that therefore the king had once or twice ordered them all to be put to death; but that, as he said, he had prevailed upon the king to spare them, and let them live their own way, as long as they were quiet and peaceable, and did not go about to withdraw others from the worship of the country.

I asked William, why he did not inquire from whence they came? I did, said William; for how could I but think it strange, said he, to hear him talk of Englishmen on the north side of Japan? Well, said I, what account did he give of it? An account, said William, that will surprise thee and all the world after thee, that shall hear of it, and which makes me wish thou wouldst go up to Japan, and find them out. What do ye mean? said I: whence could they come? Why, says William, he pulled out a little book, and in it a piece of paper, where it was written, in an Englishman's hand, and in plain English words, thus; and, says William, I read it myself:—"We came from Greenland, and from the North Pole." This, indeed, was amazing to us all, and more so to those seamen among us who knew anything of the infinite attempts which had been made from Europe, as well by the English as the Dutch, to discover a passage that way into those parts of the world; and, as William pressed us earnestly to go on to the north to rescue those poor men, so the ship's company began to incline to it; and, in a word, we all came to this, that we would stand in to the shore of Formosa, to find this priest again, and have a farther account of it all from him. Accordingly the sloop went over; but when they came there, the vessels were very

unhappily sailed, and this put an end to our inquiry after them, and perhaps may have disappointed mankind of one of the most noble discoveries that ever was made, or will again be made, in the world, for the good of mankind in general; but so much for that.

CHAPTER XV.

WE ARE SO RICH THAT OUR MEN DESIRE NO MORE—SET OUT ON OUR RETURN HOMEWARD—ACCOUNT OF OUR VOYAGE—SKIRMISH WITH INDIANS ON SHORE, AND LOSS OF SOME OF OUR MEN—SIEGE OF AN OLD TREE—WE MAKE THE SOUTH SHORE OF JAVA, AND TAKE IN WATER AND PROVISIONS THERE.

William was so uneasy at losing this opportunity, that he pressed us earnestly to go up to Japan, to find out these men. He told us, that if it was nothing but to recover thirteen honest poor men from a kind of captivity, which they would otherwise never be redeemed from, and where, perhaps, they might, some time or other, be murdered by the barbarous people, in defence of their idolatry, it were very well worth our while, and it would be, in some measure, making amends for the mischiefs we had done in the world; but we, that had no concern upon us for the mischiefs we had done, had much less about any satisfactions to be made for it; so he found that kind of discourse would weigh very little with us. Then he pressed us very earnestly to let him have the sloop to go by himself, and I told him I would not oppose it; but, when he came to the sloop, none of the men would go with him; for the case was plain, they had all a share in the cargo of the great ship, as well as in that of the sloop, and the richness of the cargo was such, that they would not leave it by any means: so poor William, much to his mortification, was obliged to give it over. What became of those thirteen men, or whether they are not there still, I can give no account of.

We were now at the end of our cruise; what we had taken was indeed so considerable, that it was not only enough to satisfy the most covetous and the most ambitious minds in the world, but it did indeed satisfy us; and our men declared

they did not desire any more. The next motion, therefore, was about going back, and the way by which we should perform the voyage, so as not to be attacked by the Dutch in the straits of Sunda.

We had pretty well stored ourselves here with provisions, and it being now near the return of the monsoons, we resolved to stand away to the southward; and not only to keep without the Phillippine islands, that is to say, to the eastward of them, but to keep on to the southward, and see if we could not leave, not only the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, behind us, but even Nova Guinea, and Nova Hollandia also; and so getting into variable winds, to the south of the tropic of Capricorn, steer away to the west, over the great Indian Ocean.

This was indeed at first a monstrous voyage in its appearance, and the want of provisions threatened us. William told us in so many words, that it was impossible we could carry provisions enough to subsist us for such a voyage, and especially fresh water; and that, as there would be no land for us to touch at, where we could get any supply, it was a madness to undertake it.

But I undertook to remedy this evil, and therefore desired them not to be uneasy at that, for I knew that we might supply ourselves at Mindanao, the most southern island of the Philippines. Accordingly we set sail, having taken all the provisions here that we could get, the 28th of September, the wind veering a little at first from the N.N.W. to the N.E. by E., but afterwards settled about the N.E. and the E.N.E. We were nine weeks in this voyage, having met with several interruptions by the weather, and put in under the lee of a small island, in the latitude of 16 degrees 12 minutes, of which we never knew the name, none of our charts having given any account of it; I say, we put in here by reason of a strange tornado, or hurricane, which brought us into a great deal of danger. Here we rode about sixteen days, the winds being very tempestuous, and the weather uncertain. However, we got some provisions on shore, such as plants and roots, and a few hogs. We believed there were inhabitants on the island, but we saw none of them.

From hence, the weather settling again, we went on, and came to the southernmost part of Mindanao, where we took in fresh water, and some cows; but the climate was so hot,

that we did not attempt to salt up any more than so as to keep a fortnight or three weeks; and away we stood southward, crossing the line, and leaving Gillolo on the starboard side, we coasted the country they call New Guinea, where in the latitude of 8 degrees south, we put in again for provisions and water, and where we found inhabitants; but they fled from us, and were altogether inconversible. From thence, sailing still southward, we left all behind us that any of our charts or maps took any notice of, and went on till we came to the latitude of 17 degrees, the wind continuing still N.E.

Here we made land to the westward, which, when we had kept in sight for three days, coasting along the shore for the distance of about four leagues, we began to fear we should find no outlet west, and so should be obliged to go back again, and put in among the Moluccas at last; but at length we found the land break off, and go trending away to the West Sea, seeming to be all open to the south and S.W., and a great sea came rolling out of the south, which gave us to understand, that there was no land for a great way.

In a word, we kept on our course to the south, a little westerly, till we passed the south tropic, where we found the winds variable; and now we stood away fair west, and held it out for about twenty days, when we discovered land right ahead, and on our larboard bow; we made directly to the shore, being willing to take all advantages now for supplying ourselves with fresh provisions and water, knowing we were now entering on that vast unknown Indian Ocean, perhaps the greatest sea on the globe, having, with very little interruption of islands, a continued sea quite round the globe.

We found a good road here, and some people on shore; but when we landed they fled up the country, nor would they hold any correspondence with us, or come near us, but shot at us several times with arrows as long as lances. We set up white flags for a truce; but they either did not, or would not, understand it: on the contrary, they shot our flag of truce through several times with their arrows; so that, in a word, we never came near any of them.

We found good water here, though it was something difficult to get at it; but for living creatures, we could see none; for the people, if they had any cattle, drove them all away, and showed us nothing but themselves, and that

sometimes in a threatening posture, and in number so great, that made us suppose the island to be greater than we at first imagined. It is true, they would not come near enough for us to engage with them, at least not openly; but they came near enough for us to see them, and, by the help of our glasses, to see that they were clothed and armed, but their clothes were only about their lower and middle parts; that they had long lances, like half pikes, in their hands, besides bows and arrows; that they had great high things on their heads, made, as we believed, of feathers, and which looked something like our grenadiers' caps in England.

When we saw them so shy, that they would not come near us, our men began to range over the island, if it was such, for we never surrounded it, to search for cattle, and for any of the Indian plantations, for fruits or plants; but they soon found, to their cost, that they were to use more caution than that came to, and that they were to discover perfectly every bush and every tree, before they ventured abroad in the country; for about fourteen of our men going farther than the rest, into a part of the country which seemed to be planted, as they thought, for it did but seem so, only I think it was overgrown with canes, such as we make our cane chairs with; I say, venturing too far, they were suddenly attacked with a shower of arrows from almost every side of them, as they thought, out of the tops of the trees.

They had nothing to do, but to fly for it, which, however, they could not resolve on, till five of them were wounded; nor had they escaped so, if one of them had not been so much wiser, or more thoughtful, than the rest, as to consider, that though they could not see the enemy, so as to shoot at them, yet perhaps the noise of their shot might terrify them, and that they should rather fire at a venture. Accordingly, ten of them faced about, and fired at random anywhere among the canes.

The noise and the fire not only terrified the enemy, but, as they believed, their shot had luckily hit some of them; for they found not only that the arrows, which came thick among them before, ceased; but they heard the Indians halloo, after their way, to one another, and make a strange noise, more uncouth, and inimitably strange, than any they had ever heard, more like the howling and barking of wild

creatures in the woods, than like the voice of men, only that sometimes they seemed to speak words.

They observed also, that this noise of the Indians went farther and farther off, so that they were satisfied the Indians fled away, except on one side, where they heard a doleful groaning and howling, and where it continued a good while, which they supposed was from some or other of them being wounded, and howling by reason of their wounds; or killed, and others howling over them; but our men had enough of making discoveries; so they did not trouble themselves to look farther, but resolved to take this opportunity to retreat. But the worst of their adventure was to come; for as they came back, they passed by a prodigious great trunk of an old tree; what tree it was, they said they did not know, but it stood like an old decayed oak in a park, where the keepers in England take *a stand*, as they call it, to shoot a deer; and it stood just under the steep side of a great rock, or hill, that our people could not see what was beyond it.

As they came by this tree, they were of a sudden shot at from the top of the tree, with seven arrows and three lances, which, to our great grief, killed two of our men, and wounded three more. This was the more surprising, because, being without any defence, and so near the trees, they expected more lances and arrows every moment; nor would flying do them any service, the Indians being, as appeared, very good marksmen. In this extremity, they had happily this presence of mind, viz., to run close to the tree, and stand as it were under it; so that those above could not come at, or see them, to throw their lances at them. This succeeded, and gave them time to consider what to do; they knew their enemies and murderers were above; they heard them talk, and those above knew those were below; but they below were obliged to keep close for fear of their lances from above. At length one of our men looking a little more strictly than the rest, thought he saw the head of one of the Indians, just over a dead limb of the tree, which, it seems the creature sat upon. One man immediately fired, and levelled his piece so true, that the shot went through the fellow's head; and down he fell out of the tree immediately, and came upon the ground with such force, with the height of his fall, that if he had not been killed with the shot, he would certainly have been killed with dashing his body against the ground.

This so frightened them, that, besides the ugly howling noise they made in the tree, our men heard a strange clutter of them in the body of the tree, from whence they concluded they had made the tree hollow, and were gone to hide themselves there. Now, had this been the case, they were secure enough from our men, for it was impossible any of our men could get up the tree on the outside, there being no branches to climb by; and, to shoot at the tree, that they tried several times to no purpose, for the tree was so thick, that no shot would enter it. They made no doubt, however, but that they had their enemies in a trap, and that a small siege would either bring them down, tree and all, or starve them out; so they resolved to keep their post, and send to us for help. Accordingly, two of them came away to us for more hands, and particularly desired, that some of our carpenters might come with tools, to help to cut down the tree, or at least to cut down other wood, and set fire to it; and that, they concluded, would not fail to bring them out.

Accordingly, our men went like a little army, and with mighty preparation for an enterprise the like of which has scarce been ever heard, to form the siege of a great tree. However, when they came there, they found the task difficult enough, for the old trunk was indeed a very great one, and very tall, being at least two-and-twenty feet high, with seven old limbs standing out every way on the top, but decayed, and very few leaves, if any, left on it.

William the quaker, whose curiosity led him to go among the rest, proposed, that they should make a ladder, and get upon the top, and then throw wildfire into the tree and smoke them out. Others proposed going back, and getting a great tree, and smoke them out. Others proposed going back, and getting a great gun out of the ship, which would split the tree in pieces with the iron bullets; others, that they should cut down a great deal of wood, and pile it up round the tree, and set it on fire, and burn the tree, and the Indians in it.

These consultations took up our people no less than two or three days, in all which time they heard nothing of the supposed garrison within this wooden castle, nor any noise within. William's project was first gone about, and a large strong ladder was made, to scale this wooden tower; and in two or three hours' time, it would have been ready to mount, when, on a sudden, they heard the noise of the

Indians in the body of the tree again, and a little after, several of them appeared in the top of the tree, and threw some lances down at our men; one of which struck one of our seamen a-top of the shoulder, and gave him such a desperate wound that the surgeons not only had a great deal of difficulty to cure him, but the poor man endured such horrible torture, that we all said they had better have killed him outright. However, he was cured at last, though he never recovered the perfect use of his arm, the lance having cut some of the tendons on the top of the arm, near the shoulder, which, as I suppose, performed the office of motion to the limb before; so that the poor man was a cripple all the days of his life. But to return to the desperate rogues in the tree; our men shot at them, but did not find they had hit them, or any of them; but as soon as ever they shot at them, they could hear them huddle down into the trunk of the tree again, and there to be sure they were safe.

Well, however, it was this which put by the project of William's ladder; for when it was done, who would venture up among such a troop of bold creatures as were there, and who they supposed, were desperate by their circumstances? And as but one man at a time could go up, they began to think that it would not do; and indeed I was of the opinion (for about this time I was come to their assistance), that going up the ladder would not do, unless it was thus, that a man should, as it were, run just up to the top, and throw some fire-works into the tree, and come down again; and this we did two or three times, but found no effect from it. At last one of our gunner's made a stinkpot, as we called it, being a composition which only smokes, but does not flame or burn; but withal, the smoke of it is so thick, and the smell of it so intolerably nauseous, that it is not to be suffered. This he threw into the tree himself, and we waited for the effect of it, but heard or saw nothing all that night, or the next day; so we concluded the men within were all smothered, when, on a sudden, the next night we heard them upon the top of the tree again, shouting and hallooing like madmen.

We concluded, as anybody would, that this was to call for help; and we resolved to continue our siege; for we were all enraged to see ourselves so baulked by a few wild people, whom we thought we had safe in our clutches; and

indeed never were there so many concurring circumstances to delude men, in any case we had met with. We resolved, however, to try another stinkpot the next night, and our engineer and gunner had got it ready, when hearing a noise of the enemy, on the top of the tree, and in the body of the tree, I was not willing to let the gunner go up the ladder, which, I said, would be but to be certain of being murdered. However, he found a medium for it, and that was to go up a few steps, and, with a long pole in his hand, to throw it in upon the top of the tree, the ladder being standing all this while against the top of the tree; but when the gunner, with his machine at the top of his pole, came to the tree, with three other men to help him, behold the ladder was gone.

This perfectly confounded us; and we now concluded the Indians in the tree had by this piece of negligence taken the opportunity, and coming all down the ladder, had made their escape, and carried away the ladder with them. I laughed most heartily at my friend William, who, as I said, had the direction of the siege, and had set up a ladder, for the garrison, as we called them, to get down upon, and run away. But when daylight came, we were all set to rights again; for there stood our ladder, hauled up on the top of the tree, with about half of it in the hollow of the tree, and the other half upright in the air. Then we began to laugh at the Indians for fools, that they could not as well have found their way down by the ladder, and have made their escape, as to have pulled it up by main strength into the tree.

We then resolved upon fire, and, to put an end to the work at once, to burn the tree and its inhabitants together; and accordingly we went to work to cut the wood, and in a few hours' time we got enough, as we thought, together; and, piling it up round the bottom of the tree, we set it on fire, and waited at a distance, to see when the gentlemen (whose quarters must soon become too hot for them) would come flying out at the top. But we were quite confounded, when on a sudden we found the fire all put out by a great quantity of water thrown upon it. We then thought the devil must be in them, to be sure. Says William, This is certainly the cunningest piece of Indian engineering that ever was heard of; and there can be but one thing more to

guess at, besides witchcraft and dealing with the devil, which I believe not one word of, says he; and that must be, that this is an artificial tree, or a natural tree artificially made hollow down into the earth, through root and all; and that these creatures have an artificial cavity underneath it, quite into the hill, or a way to go through, and under the hill, to some other place; and where that other place is, we know not; but if it be not our own fault, I'll find the place, and follow them into it, before I am two days older. He then called the carpenters, to know of them if they had any large saws that would cut through the body; and they told him they had no saws that were long enough, nor could men work into such a monstrous old stump for a great while; but that they would go to work with it with their axes, and undertake to cut it down in two days, and stub up the root of it in two more. But William was for another way, which proved much better than all this; for he was for silent work, that, if possible, he might catch some of the fellows in it: so he sets twelve men to it with large augers, to bore great holes into the side of the tree, to go almost through, but not quite through; which holes were bored without noise; and when they were done, he filled them all with gunpowder, stopping strong plugs, bolted crossways, into the holes, and then boring a slanting hole, of a less size, down into the greater hole, all which were filled with powder, and at once blown up. When they took fire, they made such a noise, and tore and split the tree in so many places, and in such a manner, that we could see plainly such another blast would demolish it; and so it did. Thus at the second time we could, at two or three places, put our hands in them, and discovered the cheat, namely, that there was a cave or hole dug in the earth, from or through the bottom of the hollow, and that it had communication with another cave further in, where we heard the voices of several of the wild folks, calling and talking to one another.

When we came thus far, we had a great mind to get at them; and William desired, that three men might be given him with hand-grenadoes; and he promised to go down first; and boldly he did so; for William, give him his due, had the heart of a lion.

They had pistols in their hands, and swords by their sides; but, as they had taught the Indians before, by their stinkpots,

the Indians returned them in their own kind; for they made such a smoke come up out of the entrance into the cave or hollow, that William and his three men were glad to come running out of the cave, and out of the tree too, for mere want of breath; and indeed they were almost stifled.

Never was a fortification so well defended, or assailants so many ways defeated. We were now for giving it over, and particularly, I called William, and told him, I could not but laugh to see us spinning out our time here for nothing; that I could not imagine what we were doing; that it was certain the rogues that were in it were cunning to the last degree, and it would vex anybody to be so baulked by a few naked ignorant fellows; but still it was not worth our while to push it any further; nor was there anything, that I knew of, to be got by the conquest, when it was made; so that I thought it high time to give it over.

William acknowledged that what I said was just, and that there was nothing but our curiosity to be gratified in this attempt; and though, as he said, he was very desirous to have searched into the thing, yet he would not insist upon it; so we resolved to quit it, and come away; which we did. However, William said before he went he would have this satisfaction of them, viz., to burn down the tree, and stop up the entrance into the cave. And while he was doing this, the gunner told him he would have one satisfaction of the rogues; and this was, that he would make a mine of it, and see which way it had vent. Upon this he fetched two barrels of powder out of the ships, and placed them in the inside of the hollow of the cave, as far in as he durst go to carry them, and then filling up the mouth of the cave where the tree stood, and ramming it sufficiently hard, leaving only a pipe or touch-hole, he gave fire to it, and stood at a distance, to see which way it would operate, when on a sudden, he found the force of the powder burst its way out among some bushes on the other side of the little hill I mentioned, and that it came roaring out there as out of the mouth of a cannon; immediately running thither, we saw the effects of the powder.

First, We saw that there was the other mouth of the cave, which the powder had so torn and opened, that the loose earth was so fallen in again, that nothing of shape could be discerned; but there we saw what was become of the garrison of Indians too, who had given us all this trouble; for

some of them had no arms, some no legs, some no head, some lay half buried in the rubbish of the mine, that is to say, in the loose earth that fell in; and, in short, there was a miserable havoc made of them all; for we had good reason to believe, not one of them that were in the inside could escape, but rather were shot out of the mouth of the cave, like a bullet out of a gun.

We had now our full satisfaction of the Indians; but, in short, this was a losing voyage; for we had two men killed, one quite crippled, and five more wounded; we spent two barrels of powder, and eleven days' time, and all to get the understanding how to make an Indian mine, or how to keep garrison in a hollow tree; and with this wit, bought at this dear price, we came away, having taken in some fresh water, but got no fresh provisions.

We then considered what we should do to get back again to Madagascar. We were much about the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, but had such a very long run, and were neither sure of meeting with fair winds, or with any land in the way, that we knew not what to think of it. William was our last resort in this case again, and he was very plain with us. Friend, says he to Captain Wilmot, what occasion hast thou to run the venture of starving, merely for the pleasure of saying thou hast been where nobody ever was before? There are a great many places nearer home, of which thou mayest say the same thing at a less expense. I see no occasion thou hast of keeping thus far south any longer than till you are sure you are to the west end of Java and Sumatra; and then thou mayest stand away north towards Ceylon, and the coast of Coromandel and Madras, where thou mayest get both fresh water and fresh provisions; and to that part it is likely we may hold out well enough with the stores that we have already.

This was wholesome advice, and such as was not to be slighted; so we stood away to the west, keeping between the latitude of 31 and 35 degrees, and had very good weather and fair winds for about ten days' sail; by which time, by our reckoning, we were clear of the isles, and might run away to the north; and, if we did not fall in with Ceylon, we should at least go into the great deep bay of Bengal.

But we were out in our reckoning a great deal; for, when

we had stood due north for about 15 or 16 degrees, we met with land again on our starboard bow, about three leagues distance; so we came to an anchor about half a league from it, and manned out our boats to see what sort of a country it was. We found it a very good one; fresh water easy to come at, but no cattle, that we could see, or inhabitants; and we were very shy of searching too far after them, lest we should make such another journey as we did last; so that we let rambling alone, and chose rather to take what we could find, which was only a few wild mangoes, and some plants of several kinds, which we knew not the names of.

We made no stay here, but put to sea again, N.W. by N., but had little wind for a fortnight more, when we made land again; and standing in with the shore, we were surprised to find ourselves on the south shore of Java; and just as we were coming to an anchor, we saw a boat, carrying Dutch colours, sailing along shore. We were not solicitous to speak with them, or any other of their nation, but left it indifferent to our people, when they went on shore, to see the Dutchmen, or not to see them; our business was to get provisions, which indeed by this time were very short with us.

We resolved to go on shore with our boats in the most convenient place we could find, and to look out a proper harbour to bring the ship into, leaving it to our fate, whether we should meet with friends or enemies; resolving, however, not to stay any considerable time, at least not long enough to have expresses sent across the island to Batavia, and for ships to come round from thence to attack us.

We found, according to our desire, a very good harbour, where we rode in seven fathom water, well defended from the weather, whatever might happen; and here we got fresh provisions, such as good hogs, and some cows; and that we might lay in a little store, we killed sixteen cows, and pickled and barrelled up the flesh as well as we could be supposed to do in the latitude of 8 degrees from the line.

CHAPTER XVI.

A LARGE SHIP SPIED TO THE NORTHWARD—WE LAY HER UNDER CONTRIBUTION FOR PROVISIONS—WE PUT IN UPON THE SOUTH COAST OF CEYLON—BAD BEHAVIOUR OF OUR MEN THERE—VIOLENT STORM, DURING WHICH OUR SHIP GETS AGROUND—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES AND THEIR AMBASSADOR, AN OLD DUTCHMAN.

We did all this in about five days, and filled our casks with water; and the last boat was coming off with herbs and roots, we being unmoored, and our fore-top-sail loose for sailing, when we spied a large ship to the northward, bearing down directly upon us. We knew not what she might be, but concluded the worst, and made all possible haste to get our anchor up, and get under sail, that we might be in readiness to see what she had to say to us, for we were under no great concern for one ship; but our notion was, that we should be attacked by three or four together.

By the time we had got up our anchor, and the boat was stowed, the ship was within a league of us, and, as we thought, bore down to engage us; so we spread our black flag, or ancient, on the poop, and the bloody flag at the top-mast head, and having made a clear ship, we stretched away to the westward, and got the wind of him.

They had, it seems, quite mistaken us before, expecting nothing of an enemy or a pirate in those seas; and, not doubting but we had been one of their own ships, they seemed to be in some confusion when they found their mistake; so they immediately hauled upon a wind on the other tack, and stood edging in for the shore, toward the easternmost part of the island. Upon this we tacked, and stood after him with all the sail we could, and in two hours came almost within gunshot. Though they crowded all the sail they could lay on, there was no remedy but to engage us, and they soon saw their inequality of force. We fired a gun for them to bring to: so they manned out their boat, and sent to us with a flag of truce. We sent back the boat, but with this answer to the captain, that he had nothing to do, but to strike his colours, and bring his ship under our stern, and

come on board us himself, when he should know our demands; but that, however, since he had not yet put us to the trouble of forcing him, which we saw we were able to do, we assured them that the captain should return again in safety, and all his men, and that, supplying us with such things as we should demand, his ship should not be plundered. They went back with this message, and it was some time after they were on board, that they struck, which made us begin to think they refused it: so we fired a shot, and in a few minutes more we perceived their boat put off; and as soon as the boat put off, the ship struck, and came to, as was directed.

When the captain came on board, we demanded an account of their cargo, which was chiefly bales of goods from Bengal for Bantam. We told them our present want was provisions, which they had no need of, being just at the end of their voyage; and that, if they would send their boat on shore with ours, and procure us six-and-twenty head of black cattle, threescore hogs, a quantity of brandy and arrack, and three hundred bushels of rice, we would let them go free.

As to the rice, they gave us six hundred bushels, which they had actually on board, together with a parcel shipped upon freight. Also, they gave us thirty middling casks of very good arrack, but beef and pork they had none. However, they went on shore with our men, and bought eleven bullocks and fifty hogs, which were pickled up for our occasion; and upon the supplies of provision being delivered, we dismissed them and their ship.

We lay here seven days before we could furnish ourselves with the provisions agreed for, and some of the men fancied the Dutchmen were contriving our destruction; but they were very honest, and did what they could to furnish the black cattle, but found it impossible to supply so many. So they came and told us ingenuously, that unless we could stay a while longer, they could get no more oxen or cows than those eleven, with which we were obliged to be satisfied, taking the value of them in other things, rather than stay longer there. On our side, we were punctual with them in observing the conditions we had agreed on; nor would we let any of our men so much as go on board them, or suffer any of their men to come on board us; for, had any of our men gone on board, nobody could have answered for their

behaviour, any more than if they had been on shore in an enemy's country.

We were now victualled for our voyage; and, as we cared not for purchase, we went merrily on for the coast of Ceylon, where we intended to touch, to get fresh water again, and more provisions; and we had nothing material offered in this part of the voyage, only that we met with contrary winds, and were above a month in the passage.

We put in upon the south coast of the island, desiring to have as little to do with the Dutch as we could; and as the Dutch were lords of the country as to commerce, so they are more so of the sea-coast, where they have several forts, and, in particular, have all the cinnamon, which is the trade of that island.

We took in fresh water here, and some provisions, but did not much trouble ourselves about laying in any stores, our beef and hogs, which we got at Java, being not yet all gone by a good deal. We had a small skirmish on shore here with some of the people of the island, some of our men having been a little too familiar with the homely ladies of the country; for homely indeed they were, to such a degree, that, if our men had not had good stomachs that way, they would scarce have touched any of them.

I could never fully get it out of our men what they did, they were so true to one another in their wickedness; but I understood in the main, that it was some barbarous thing they had done, and that they had like to have paid dear for it; for the men resented it to the last degree, and gathered in such numbers about them, that, had not sixteen more of our men, in another boat, gone all in the nick of time, just to rescue our first men, who were but eleven, and so fetch them off by main force, they had been all cut off, the inhabitants being no less than two or three hundred, armed with darts and lances, the usual weapons of the country, and which they are very dexterous at throwing, even so dexterous, that it was scarce credible; and had our men stood to fight them, as some of them were bold enough to talk of, they had all been overwhelmed and killed. As it was, seventeen of our men were wounded, and some of them very dangerously. But they were more frightened than hurt too; for every one of them gave themselves over for dead men, believing the lances were poisoned. But William was

our comfort here too; for, when two of our surgeons were of the same opinion, and told the men foolishly enough, that they would die, William cheerfully went to work with them, and cured them all but one, who rather died by drinking some arrack punch, than of his wouud, the excess of drinking throwing him into a fever.

We had enough of Ceylon, though some of our people were for going ashore again, sixty or seventy men together, to be revenged; but William persuaded them against it; and his reputation was so great among the men, as well as with us that were commanders, that he could influence them more than any of us.

They were mighty warm upon the revenge, and would go on shore, and destroy five hundred of them. Well, says William, and suppose you do, what are you the better? Why then, says one of them, speaking for the rest, we shall have our satisfaction. Well, and what will you be the better for that? says William. They could then say nothing to that. Then, says William, if I mistake not, your business is money: now, I desire to know, if you conquer and kill two or three thousand of these poor creatures, they have no money, pray what will you get? They are poor naked wretches, what shall you gain by them? But then, said William, perhaps in doing this, you may chance to lose half a score of your own company, as it is very probable you may. Pray, what gain is in it? and what account can you give the company for the lost men? In short, William argued so effectually, that he convinced them that it was mere murder to do so; and that the men had a right to their own, and that they had no right to take them away; that it was destroying innocent men, who had acted no otherwise than as the laws of nature dictated; and that it would be as much murder to do so, as to meet a man on the highway, and kill him, for the mere sake of it, in cool blood, not regarding whether he had done any wrong to us or no.

These reasons prevailed with them at last, and they were content to go away, and leave them as they found them. In the first skirmish they killed between sixty and seventy men, and wounded a great many more: but they had nothing, and our people got nothing by it but the loss of one man's life, and the wounding sixteen more, as above.

But another accident brought us to a necessity of farther

business with these people, and indeed we had like to have put an end to our lives and adventures all at once among them; for, about three days after our putting out to sea, from the place where we had that skirmish, we were attacked by a violent storm of wind from the south, or rather a hurricane of wind from all the points southward, for it blew in a most desperate and furious manner, from the S.E. to the S.W., one minute at one point, and then instantly turning about again to another point, but with the same violence; nor were we able to work the ship in that condition; so that the ship I was in split three topsails, and at last brought the main topmast by the board; and, in a word, we were once or twice driven right ashore; and one time, had not the wind shifted the very moment it did, we had been dashed in a thousand pieces upon a great ledge of rocks, which lay off about half a league from the shore: but, as I have said, the wind shifting very often, and at that time coming to the E.S.E., we stretched off, and got above a league more sea-room in half-an-hour. After that, it blew with some fury S.W. by S., then S.W. by W., and put us back again a great way to the eastward of the ledge of rocks, where we found a great opening between the rocks and the land, and endeavoured to come to an anchor there; but we found there was no ground fit to anchor in, there being nothing but rocks. We stood through the opening, which held about four leagues. The storm continued, and now we found a dreadful foul shore, and knew not what course to take. We looked out very narrowly for some river or creek, or bay, where we might run in, and come to an anchor, but found none a great while. At length we saw a great headland lie out far south into the sea, and that to such a length, that, in short, we saw plainly, that, if the wind held where it was, we could not weather it; so we run in as much under the lee of the point as we could, and came to an anchor in about twelve fathom water.

But the wind veering again in the night, and blowing exceedingly hard, our anchors came home, and the ship drove till the rudder struck against the ground; and, had the ship gone half her length farther, she had been lost, and every one of us with her. But our sheet anchor held its own, and we heaved in some of the cable, to get clear of the ground we had struck upon. It was by this only cable

that we rode it out all night; and towards morning we thought the wind abated a little; and it was well for us that it was so; for, in spite of what our sheet-anchor did for us, we found the ship fast aground in the morning, to our very great surprise and amazement.

When the tide was out, though the water here ebbed away, the ship lay almost dry upon a bank of hard sand, which never, I suppose, had any ship upon it before: the people of the country came down in great numbers to look at us, and gaze, not knowing what we were, but gaping at us as at a great sight or wonder, at which they were surprised, and knew not what to do.

I have reason to believe that, upon the sight, they immediately sent an account of a ship being there, and of the condition we were in; for the next day there appeared a great man, whether it was their king or no, I know not; but he had abundance of men with him, and some with long javelins in their hands, as long as half-pikes; and these came all down to the water's edge, and drew up in a very good order, just in our view. They stood near an hour without making any motion; and then there came near twenty of them with a man before them, carrying a white flag before them. They came forward into the water as high as their waists, the sea not going so high as before, for the wind was abated, and blew off shore.

The man made a long oration to us, as we could see by his gestures; and we sometimes heard his voice, but knew not one word he said. William, who was always useful to us, I believe was here again the saving of all our lives. The case was this. The fellow, or what I might call him, when his speech was done, gave three great screams (for I know not what else to say they were), then lowered his white flag three times, and then made three motions to us with his arm, to come to him.

I acknowledge, that I was for manning out the boat, and going to them; but William would by no means allow me: he told me, we ought to trust nobody; that, if they were barbarians, and under their own government, we might be sure to be all murdered; and if they were Christians, we should not fare much better, if they knew who we were; that it was the custom of the Malabars, to betray all people that they could get into their hands; and that these were

some of the same people; and that, if we had any regard to our own safety, we should not go to them by any means. I opposed him a great while, and told him I thought he used to be always right, but that now I thought he was not; that I was no more for running needless risks, than he, or any one else; but I thought all nations in the world, even the most savage people, when they held out a flag of peace, kept the offer of peace made by that signal, very sacredly; and I gave him several examples of it in the history of my African travels, which I have here gone through in the beginning of this work; and that I could not think these people worse than some of them. And besides, I told him, our case seemed to be such, that we must fall into somebody's hands or other, and that we had better fall into their hands by a friendly treaty, than by a forced submission; nay, though they had indeed a treacherous design; and therefore I was for a parley with them.

Well, friend, says William, very gravely, if thou wilt go, I cannot help it, I shall only desire to take my last leave of thee at parting, for, depend upon it, thou wilt never see us again. Whether we in the ship may come off any better at last, I cannot resolve thee; but this I will answer for, that we will not give up our lives idly, and in cool blood, as thou art going to do; we will at least preserve ourselves as long as we can, and die at last like men, not like fools, trepanned by the wiles of a few barbarians.

William spoke this with so much warmth, and yet with so much assurance of our fate, that I began to think a little of the risk I was going to run. I had no more mind to be murdered than he; and yet I could not for my life be so faint-hearted in the thing as he. Upon which, I asked him, if he had any knowledge of the place, or had ever been there. He said, No. Then I asked him, if he had heard or read anything about the people of this island, and of their way of treating any Christians that had fallen into their hands; and he told me, he had heard of one, and he would tell me the story afterward. His name, he said, was Knox, commander of an East-India ship, who was driven on shore, just as we were, upon this island of Ceylon, though he could not say it was at the same place, or whereabouts: that he was beguiled by the barbarians, and enticed to come on shore, just as we were invited to do at that time; and that, when they had

him, they surrounded him and eighteen or twenty of his men, and never suffered them to return, but kept them prisoners, or murdered them, he could not tell which; but they were carried away up in the country, separated from one another, and never heard of afterwards, except the captain's son, who miraculously made his escape, after twenty years' slavery.

I had no time then to ask him to give the full story of this Knox, much less to hear him tell it me; but as it is usual in such cases, when one begins to be a little touched, I turned short with him. Why then, friend William, said I, what would you have us do? You see what condition we are in, and what is before us; something must be done, and that immediately. Why, says William, I'll tell thee what thou shouldst do: first cause a white flag to be hung out, as they do to us, and man out the long-boat and pinnace with as many men as they can well stow, to handle their arms, and let me go with them, and thou shalt see what we will do. If I miscarry, thou mayest be safe; and I will also tell thee, that if I do miscarry, it shall be my own fault, and thou shalt learn wit by my folly.

I knew not what to reply to him at first; but, after some pause, I said, William, William, I am as loath you should be lost as you are that I should; and if there be any danger, I desire you may no more fall into it than I. Therefore, if you will, let us all keep in the ship, fare alike, and take our fate together.

No, no, says William, there's no danger in the method I propose; thou shalt go with me, if thou thinkest fit. If thou pleasest but to follow the measures that I shall resolve on, depend upon it, though we will go off from the ships, we will not a man of us go any nearer them than within call, to talk with them. Thou seest they have no boats to come off to us; but, says he, I rather desire thou wouldst take my advice, and manage the ships as I shall give the signal from the boat, and let us concert that matter together before we go off.

Well, I found William had his measures in his head all laid beforehand, and was not at a loss what to do at all; so I told him he should be captain for this voyage, and we would be all of us under his orders, which I would see observed to a tittle.

Upon this conclusion of our debates, he ordered four-and-twenty men into the the long-boat, and twelve men into the pinnace, and the sea being now pretty smooth, they went off, being all very well armed. Also he ordered, that all the guns of the great ship, on the side which lay next the shore, should be loaded with musket-balls, old nails, stubs, and such like pieces of old iron, lead, and anything that came to hand; and that we should prepare to fire as soon as ever we saw them lower the white flag and hoist up a red one in the pinnace.

With these measures fixed between us, they went off towards the shore, William in the pinnace with twelve men, and the long-boat coming after him with four-and-twenty more, all stout, resolute fellows, and very well armed. They rowed so near the shore, as that they might speak to one another, carrying a white flag, as the other did, and offering a parley. The brutes, for such they were, showed themselves very courteous; but, finding we could not understand them, they fetched an old Dutchman, who had been their prisoner many years, and set him to speak to us. The sum and substance of his speech was—that the king of the country had sent his general down to know who we were, and what our business was. William stood up in the stern of the pinnace, and told him—that as to that, he, that was an European, by his language and voice, might easily know what we were, and our condition: the ship being aground upon the sand, would also tell him, that our business there was that of a ship in distress: so William desired to know what they came down for with such a multitude, and with arms and weapons, as if they came to war with us.

He answered, they might have good reason to come down to the shore, the country being alarmed with the appearance of ships of strangers upon the coast; and as our vessels were full of men, who had guns and weapons, the king had sent part of his military men, that, in case of any invasion upon the country, they might be ready to defend themselves, whatsoever might be the occasion.

But, says he, as you are men in distress, the king has ordered his general, who is here also, to give you all the assistance he can, and to invite you on shore, and receive you with all possible courtesy. Says William, very quick upon

him, Before I give thee an answer to that, I desire thee to tell me what thou art; for by thy speech thou art an European. He answered presently, he was a Dutchman. That I know well, says William, by thy speech; but art thou a native Dutchman of Holland, or a native of this country, that has learned Dutch by conversing among the Hollanders, who we know are settled upon this island?

No, says the old man, I am a native of Delft, in the province of Holland, in Europe.

Well, says William, immediately, but art thou a Christian or a heathen, or what we call a renegado?

I am, says he, a Christian. And so they went on, in a short dialogue, as follows:—

Will. Thou art a Dutchman, and a Christian, thou sayest; pray, art thou a freeman or a servant?

Dutchm. I am a servant to the king here, and in his army.

Will. But art thou a volunteer, or a prisoner?

Dutchm. Indeed I was a prisoner at first, but am at liberty now, and so am a volunteer.

Will. That is to say, being first a prisoner, thou hast liberty to serve them; but art thou so at liberty, that thou mayest go away, if thou pleasest, to thine own countrymen?

Dutchm. No, I do not say so: my countrymen live a great way off, on the north and east parts of the island, and there is no going to them, without the king's express license.

Will. Well, and why doest not thou get a license to go away?

Dutchm. I have never asked for it.

Will. And, I suppose, if thou didst, thou knowest thou couldst not obtain it.

Dutchm. I cannot say much as to that; but why do you ask me all these questions.

Will. Why, my reason is good: if thou art a Christian and a prisoner, how canst thou consent to be made an instrument to these barbarians, to betray us into their hands, who are thy countrymen and fellow-Christians? Is it not a barbarous thing in thee to do so?

Dutchm. How do I go about to betray you? Do I not

give you an account, how the king invites you to come on shore, and has ordered you to be treated courteously, and assisted?

Will. As thou art a Christian, though I doubt it much, dost thou believe the king, or the general, as thou callest him, means one word of what he says?

Dutchm. He promises you by the mouth of his great general.

Will. I don't ask thee what he promises, or by whom; but I ask thee this:—Canst thou say, that thou believest he intends to perform it?

Dutchm. How can I answer that? How can I tell what he intends?

Will. Thou canst tell what thou believest.

Dutchm. I cannot say but he will perform it; I believe he may.

Will. Thou art but a double-tongued Christian, I doubt. Come, I'll ask thee another question: Wilt thou say, that thou believest it, and that thou wouldst advise me to believe it, and put our lives into their hands upon these promises?

Dutchm. I am not to be your adviser.

Will. Thou art perhaps afraid to speak thy mind, because thou art in their power. Pray, do any of them understand what thou and I say? Can they speak Dutch?

Dutchm. No, not one of them: I have no apprehensions upon that account at all.

Will. Why then, answer me plainly, if thou art a Christian: Is it safe for us to venture, upon their words, to put ourselves into their hands, and come on shore?

Dutchm. You put it very home to me. Pray, let me ask you another question: are you in any likelihood of getting your ship off, if you refuse it?

Will. Yes, yes, we shall get off the ship; now the storm is over, we don't fear it.

Dutchm. Then I cannot say it is best for you to trust them.

Will. Well, it is honestly said.

Dutchm. But what shall I say to them?

Will. Give them good words, as they give us.

Dutchm. What good words?

Will. Why, let them tell the king, that we are strangers, who were driven on the coast by a great storm; that we thank him very kindly for his offer of civility to us, which,

if we are farther distressed, we will accept thankfully; but that at present we have no occasion to come on shore; and besides, that we cannot safely leave the ship in the present condition she is in; but that we are obliged to take care of her, in order to get her off, and expect, in a tide or two more, to get her quite clear, and at an anchor.

Dutchm. But he will expect you to come on shore, then, to visit him, and make him some present for his civility.

Will. When we have got our ship clear, and stopped the leaks, we will pay our respects to him.

Dutchm. Nay, you may as well come to him now as then.

Will. Nay, hold, friend; I did not say we would come to him then: you talked of making him a present; that is to pay our respects to him; is it not?

Dutchm. Well, but I will tell him that you will come on shore to him when your ship is got off.

Will. I have nothing to say to that: you may tell him what you think fit.

Dutchm. But he will be in a great rage if I do not.

Will. Who will he be in a rage at?

Dutchm. At you.

Will. What occasion have we to value that?

Dutchm. Why, he will send all his army down against you.

Will. And what if they were all here just now? What dost thou suppose they could do to us?

Dutchm. He would expect they should burn your ships, and bring you all to him.

Will. Tell him, if he should try, he may catch a Tartar.

Dutchm. He has a world of men.

Will. Has he any ships?

Dutchm. No, he has no ships.

Will. Nor boats?

Dutchm. No, nor boats.

Will. Why, what then do you think we care for his men? What canst thou do now to us, if thou hadst a hundred thousand with thee?

Dutchm. O! they might set you on fire.

Will. Set us a-firing, thou meanest: that they might indeed; but set us on fire they shall not; they might try, at their peril, and we shall make mad work with your hundred thousand men, if they come within reach of our guns, I assure thee.

Dutchm. But what if the king gives you hostages for your safety?

Will. Whom can he give but mere slaves and servants like thyself, whose lives he no more values than we an English hound?

Dutchm. Whom do you demand for hostages?

Will. Himself and your worship.

Dutchm. What would you do with him?

Will. Do with him as he would do with us,—cut his head off.

Dutchm. And what would you do to me?

Will. Do with thee? We would carry thee home into thine own country; and, though thou deservest the gallows, we would make a man and a Christian of thee again, and not do by thee as thou wouldst have done by us,—betray thee to a parcel of merciless, savage pagans, that know no God, nor how to show mercy to man.

Dutchm. You put a thought in my head, that I will speak to you about to-morrow.

CHAPTER XVII.

WE GET THE SHIP OFF—THE KING OF THE COUNTRY SENDS AN IMMENSE MULTITUDE DOWN TO THE SHORE—CONVERSATION BETWIXT WILLIAM AND THE DUTCHMAN—ACTION WITH THE NATIVES—WE CARRY OFF THE DUTCHMAN BY A STRATAGEM—RELATION OF CAPTAIN KNOX'S ADVENTURE ON THE SAME ISLAND.

THUS they went away, and William came on board, and gave us a full account of his parley with the old Dutchman, which was very diverting, and to me instructing; for I had abundance of reason to acknowledge William had made a better judgment of things than I.

It was our good fortune to get our ship off that very night, and to bring her to an anchor at about a mile and a half further out, and in deep water, to our great satisfaction; so that we had no need to fear the Dutchman's king, with his hundred thousand men; and indeed we had some sport with them the next day, when they came down, a vast prodigious

multitude of them, very few less in number, in our imagination, than a hundred thousand, with some elephants; though if it had been an army of elephants, they could have done us no harm; for we were fairly at our anchor now, and out of their reach; and indeed we thought ourselves more out of their reach than we really were; and it was ten thousand to one, that we had not been fast aground again; for the wind blowing off shore, though it made the water smooth where we lay, yet it blew the ebb farther out than usual, and we could easily perceive the sand, which we touched upon before, lay in the shape of a half moon, and surrounded us with two horns of it; so that we lay in the middle or centre of it, as in a round bay, safe just as we were, and in deep water, but present death, as it were, on the right hand and on the left; for the two horns, or points of the sand, reached out beyond where our ship lay near two miles.

On that part of the sand which lay on our east side, this misguided multitude extended themselves; and, being most of them not above their knees, or most of them not above ancle deep in the water, they, as it were, surrounded us on that side, and on the side of the mainland, and a little way on the other side of the sand, standing in a half circle, or rather three-fifths of a circle, for about six miles in length; the other horn, or point of the sand, which lay on our west side, being not quite so shallow, they could not extend themselves upon it so far.

They little thought what service they had done us, and how unwillingly, and by the greatest ignorance, they had made themselves pilots to us, while we, having not sounded the place, might have been lost before we were aware. It is true, we might have sounded our new harbour before we had ventured out; but I cannot say, for certain, whether we should or not; for I, for my part, had not the least suspicion of what our real case was: however, I say, perhaps, before we had weighed, we should have looked about us a little. I am sure we ought to have done it; for, besides these armies of human furies, we had a very leaky ship, and all our pumps could hardly keep the water from growing upon us, and our carpenters were overboard, working to find out and stop the wounds we had received, heeling her first on one side and then on the other; and it was very diverting to see how, when our men heeled the ship over to the side next the

wild army that stood on the east horn of the sand, they were so amazed, between fright and joy, that it put them into a kind of confusion, calling to one another, hallooing and shrieking, in a manner that it is impossible to describe.

While we were doing this, for we were in a great hurry, you may be sure, and all hands at work, as well at the stopping our leaks, as repairing our rigging and sails, which had received a great deal of damage, and also in rigging a new main-top-mast, and the like; I say, while we were doing all this, we perceived a body of men, of near a thousand, move from that part of the army of the barbarians that lay at the bottom of the sandy bay, and come all along the water's edge, round the sand, till they stood just on our broadside east, and were within about half a mile of us. Then we saw the Dutchman come forward nearer to us, and all alone, with his white flag and all his motions, just as before, and there he stood.

Our men had just brought the ship to rights again as they came up to our broadside, and we had very happily found out and stopped the worst and most dangerous leak that we had, to our very great satisfaction; so I ordered the boats to be hauled up and manned as they were the day before, and William to go as plenipotentiary. I would have gone myself, if I had understood Dutch; but as I did not, it was to no purpose, for I should be able to know nothing of what was said, but from him at second hand, which might be done as well afterwards. All the instructions I pretended to give William, was, if possible, to get the old Dutchman away, and, if he could, to make him come on board.

Well, William went just as before; and when he came within about sixty or seventy yards of the shore, he held up his white flag, as the Dutchman did, and, turning the boat's broadside to the shore, and his men lying upon their oars, the parley, or dialogue, began again thus:—

Will. Well, friend, what dost thou say to us now?

Dutchm. I came of the same mild errand as I did yesterday.

Will. What dost thou pretend to come of a mild errand, with all these people at thy back, and all the foolish weapons of war they bring with them? Prithee, what dost thou mean?

Dutchm. The king hastens us to invite the captain and all his men to come on shore, and has ordered all his men to show them all the civility they can.

Will. Well, and are those men come to invite us ashore?

Dutchm. They will do you no hurt, if you will come on shore peaceably.

Will. Well, and what dost thou think they can do to us, if we will not?

Dutchm. I would not have them do you any hurt then neither.

Will. But prithee, friend, do not make thyself fool and knave too: dost not thou know that we are out of fear of all thy army, and out of danger of all that they can do? What makes thee act so simply as well as so knavishly?

Dutchm. Why you may think yourselves safer than you are: you do not know what they may do to you. I can assure you they are able to do you a great deal of harm, and perhaps burn your ship.

Will. Suppose that were true, as I am sure it is false, you see we have more ships to carry us off (pointing to the sloop*).

Dutchm. We do not value that, if you had ten ships, you dare not come on shore with all the men you have, in a hostile way; we are too many for you.

Will. Thou dost not even in that speak as thou meanest; and we may give thee a trial of our hands, when our friends come up to us; for thou hearest they have discovered us.†

Dutchm. Yes, I hear they fire, but I hope your ship will not fire again; for, if they do, our general will take it for breaking the truce, and will make the army let fly a shower of arrows at you in the boat.

Will. Thou mayest be sure the ship will fire, that the other ship may hear them, but not with ball. If thy general knows no better, he may begin when he will; but thou mayest be sure we will return it to his cost.

Dutchm. What must I do then?

Will. Do! why go to him, and tell him of it beforehand

* N.B.—Just at this time we discovered the sloop standing towards us from the east, along the shore, at about the distance of two leagues, which was to our particular satisfaction, she having been missing thirteen days.

† Just then the sloop fired five guns, which was to get news of us, for they did not see us.

then; and let him know, that the ship firing is not at him, nor his men; and then come again and tell us what he says.

Dutchm. No, I will send to him, which will do as well.

Will. Do as thou wilt; but I believe thou hadst better go thyself; for, if our men fire first, I suppose he will be in a great wrath, and, it may be, at thee; for, as for his wrath at us, we tell thee, beforehand, we value it not.

Dutchm. You slight them too much; you know not what they may do.

Will. Thou makest as if those poor savage wretches could do mighty things; prithee let us see what you can all do, we value it not; thou mayest set down thy flag of truce when thou pleasest, and begin.

Dutchm. I had rather make a truce, and have you all part friends.

Will. Thou art a deceitful rogue thyself; for it is plain thou knowest these people would only persuade us on shore, to entrap and surprise us; and yet thou that art a Christian, as thou callest thyself, wouldst have us come on shore, and put our lives into their hands who know nothing that belongs to compassion, good usage, or good manners; how canst thou be such a villain?

Dutchm. How can you call me so? What have I done to you, and what would you have me do?

Will. Not act like a traitor, but like one that was once a Christian, and would have been so still, if you had not been a Dutchman.

Dutchm. I know not what to do, not I; I wish I were from them; they are a bloody people.

Will. Prithee make no difficulty of what thou shouldest do: canst thou swim?

Dutchm. Yes, I can swim; but if I should attempt to swim off to you, I should have a thousand arrows and javelins sticking in me, before I should get to your boat.

Will. I'll bring the boat close to thee, and take thee on board in spite of them all. We will give them but one volley, and I'll engage they will all run away from thee.

Dutchm. You are mistaken in them, I assure you; they would immediately come all running down to the shore, and shoot fire-arrows at you, and set your boat and ship and all on fire about your ears.

Will. We will venture that, if thou wilt come off.

Dutchm. Will you use me honourably when I am among you?

Will. I'll give thee my word for it, if thou provest honest.

Dutchm. Will you not make me a prisoner?

Will. I will be thy surety, body for body, that thou shalt be a freeman, and go whither thou wilt, though I own to thee thou dost not deserve it.

Just at this time our ship fired three guns to answer the sloop, and let her know we saw her, who immediately, we perceived, understood it, and stood directly for the place; but it is impossible to express the confusion and filthy vile noise, the hurry and universal disorder, that was among that vast multitude of people, upon our firing off three guns. They immediately all repaired to their arms, as I may call it; for, to say they put themselves into order, would be saying nothing.

Upon the word of command, then, they advanced all in a body to the sea-side, and resolving to give us one volley of their fire-arms (for such they were), immediately they saluted us with a hundred thousand of their arrows, every one carrying a little bag of cloth dipped in brimstone, or some such thing; which, flying through the air, had nothing to hinder it taking fire as it flew; and it generally did so.

I cannot say but this method of attacking us, by a way we had no notion of, might give us at first some little surprise; for the number was so great at first, that we were not altogether without apprehensions that they might unluckily set our ship on fire; so that William resolved immediately to row on board, and persuade us all to weigh, and stand out to sea; but there was no time for it; for they immediately let fly a volley at the boat, and at the ship, from all the parts of the vast crowd of people which stood near the shore.

Nor did they fire, as I may call it, all at once, and so leave off; but their arrows being soon notched upon their bows, they kept continually shooting, so that the air was full of flame.

I could not say whether they set their cotton rag on fire before they shot the arrow; for I did not perceive they had fire with them, which, however, it seems they had. The arrow, besides the fire it carried with it, had a head, or a

peg, as we call it, of a bone, and some of sharp flint stone; and some few of a metal, too soft in itself for metal, but hard enough to cause it to enter, if it were a plank, so as to stick where it fell.

William and his men had notice sufficient to lie close behind their waste-boards, which, for this very purpose, they had made so high, that they could easily sink themselves behind them, so as to defend themselves from anything that came point-blank (as we call it), or upon a line; but for what might fall perpendicularly out of the air, they had no guard, but took the hazard of that. At first, they made as if they would row away, but before they went, they gave a volley of their small arms, firing at those which stood with the Dutchman; but William ordered them to be sure to take their aim at others, so as to miss him, and they did so.

There was no calling to them now, for the noise was so great among them, that they could hear nobody; but our men boldly rowed in nearer to them, for they were at first driven a little off, and when they came nearer, they fired a second volley, which put the fellows into great confusion, and we could see from the ship, that several of them were killed or wounded.

We thought this was a very unequal fight, and therefore we made a signal to our men to row away, that we might have a little of the sport as well as they; but the arrows flew so thick upon them, being so near the shore, that they could not sit to their oars; so they spread a little of their sail, thinking they might sail along the shore, and lie behind their waste-boards; but the sail had not been spread six minutes, till it had five hundred fire-arrows shot into it, and through it, and at length set it fairly on fire; nor were our men quite out of the danger of its setting the boat on fire; and this made them paddle and shove the boat away as well as they could, as they lay, to get farther off.

By this time they had left us a fair mark at the whole savage army; and as we had sheered the ship as near to them as we could, we fired among the thickest of them six or seven times, five guns at a time, with shot, old iron, musket bullets, &c.

We could easily see that we made havoc of them, and killed and wounded abundance of them, and that they were

in a great surprise at it; but yet they never offered to stir, and all this while their fire-arrows flew as thick as before.

At last, on a sudden their arrows stopped, and the old Dutchman came running down to the water-side all alone, with his white flag, as before, waving it as high as he could, and making signals to our boat to come to him again.

William did not care at first to go near him, but the man continning to make signals to him to come, at last William went; and the Dutchman told him, that he had been with the general, who was much mollified by the slaughter of his men, and that now he could have anything of him.

Anything, says William, what have we to do with him? Let him go about his business, and carry his men out of gun-shot; can't he?

Why, says the Dutchman, but he dares not stir, nor see the king's face; unless some of your men came on shore, he will certainly put him to death.

Why then, says William, he is a dead man; for if it were to save his life, and the lives of all the crowd that is with him, he shall never have one of us in his power.

But I'll tell thee, said William, how thou shalt cheat him, and gain thy own liberty too, if thou hast any mind to see thy own country again, and art not turned savage, and grown fond of living all thy days among heathens and savages.

I would be glad to do it with all my heart, says he; but if I should offer to swim off to you now, though they are so far from me, they shoot so true, that they would kill me before I got half way.

But, says William, I'll tell thee how thou shalt come with his consent. Go to him, and tell him I have offered to carry you on board, to try if you could persuade the captain to come on shore, and that I would not hinder him if he was willing to venture.

The Dutchman seemed in a rapture at the very first word. I'll do it, says he; I am persuaded he will give me leave to come.

Away he runs, as if he had a glad message to carry, and tells the general, that William had promised, if he would go on board the ship with him, he would persuade the captain to return with him. The general was fool enough to give him orders to go, and charged him not to come back without

the captain; which he readily promised, and very honestly might.

So they took him in, and brought him on board; and he was as good as his word to them; for he never went back any more; and the sloop being come to the mouth of the inlet where we lay, we weighed, and set sail; but, as we went out, being pretty near the shore, we fired three guns, as it were among them, but without any shot; for it was of no use to us to hurt any more of them. After we had fired, we gave them a cheer, as the seamen call it; that is to say, we hallooed at them, by way of triumph, and so carried off their ambassador. How it fared with the general, we know nothing of that.

This passage, when I related it to a friend of mine, after my return from those rambles, agreed so well with his relation of what happened to one Mr. Knox, an English captain, who some time ago was decoyed on shore by those people, that it could not be very much to my satisfaction to think what mischief we had all escaped; and I think it cannot but be very profitable to record the other story (which is but short) with my own, to show whoever reads this, what it was I avoided, and prevent their falling into the like, if they have to do with the perfidious people of Ceylon. The relation is as follows:—

The island of Ceylon being inhabited for the greatest part by barbarians, which will not allow any trade or commerce with any European nation, and inaccessible by any travellers, it will be convenient to relate the occasion how the author of this story happened to go into this island, and what opportunities he had of being fully acquainted with the people, their laws and customs, that so we may the better depend upon the account, and value it, as it deserves, for the rarity as well as the truth of it; and both these the author gives us a brief relation of in this manner. His words are as follow:—

In the year 1657, the Anne frigate, of London, Captain Robert Knox commander, on the 21st day of January, set sail out of the Downs, in the service of the honourable the East India Company of England, bound for Fort St. George, upon the coast of Coromandel, to trade for one year from port to port in India; which having performed, as he was

lading his goods to return to England, being in the road of Matlipatam, on the 19th of November, 1659, there happened such a mighty storm, that in it several ships were cast away, and he was forced to cut his mainmast by the board, which so disabled the ship, that he could not proceed in his voyage; whereupon Cotiar, in the island of Ceylon, being a very commodious bay, fit for her present distress, Thomas Chambers, esquire, since Sir Thomas Chambers, the agent at Fort St. George, ordered that the ship should take in some cloth and Indian merchants belonging to Porta Nova, who might trade there while she lay to set her mast, and repair the other damages sustained by the storm. At her first coming thither, after the Indian merchants were set on shore, the captain and his men were very jealous of the people of that place, by reason the English never had any commerce or dealing with them; but after they had been there twenty days, going ashore and returning again at pleasure, without any molestation, they began to lay aside all suspicious thoughts of the people that dwelt thereabouts, who had kindly entertained them for their money.

By this time the king of the country had notice of their arrival, and, not being acquainted with their intents, he sent down a dissuava, or general, with an army to them, who immediately sent a messenger to the captain on board, to desire him to come ashore to him, pretending a letter from the king. The captain saluted the message with firing of guns, and ordered his son Robert Knox, and Mr. John Loveland, merchant of the ship, to go ashore, and wait on him. When they were come before him, he demanded who they were, and how long they should stay. They told him they were Englishmen, and not to stay above twenty or thirty days, and desired permission to trade in his majesty's port. His answer was—that the king was glad to hear that the English were come into his country, and had commanded him to assist them as they should desire, and had sent a letter to be delivered to none but the captain himself. They were then twelve miles from the sea-side, and therefore replied, that the captain could not leave his ship to come so far; but if he pleased to go down to the sea-side, the captain would wait on him to receive the letter; whereupon the dissuava desired them to stay that day, and on the morrow he would go with them; which, rather than dis-

please him in so small a matter, they consented to. In the evening the dissuava sent a present to the captain, of cattle and fruits, &c., which, being carried all night by the messengers, was delivered to him in the morning, who told him withal that his men were coming down with the dissuava, and desired his company on shore against his coming, having a letter from the king to deliver into his own hand. The captain, mistrusting nothing, came on shore with his boat, and, sitting under a tamarind tree, waited for the dissuava. In the meantime, the native soldiers privately surrounded him and the seven men he had with him, and, seizing them, carried them to meet the dissuava, bearing the captain on a hammock on their shoulders.

The next day the long-boat's crew, not knowing what had happened, came on shore to cut down a tree to make cheeks for the mainmast, and were made prisoners after the same manner, though with more violence, because they were more rough with them, and made resistance: yet they were not brought to the captain and his company, but quartered in another house in the same town.

The dissuava having thus gotten two boats and eighteen men, his next care was to gain the ship; and to that end, telling the captain that he and his men were only detained because the king intended to send letters and a present to the English nation by him, desired he would send some men on board his ship to order her to stay; and because the ship was in danger of being fired by the Dutch, if she stayed long in the bay, to bring her up the river. The captain did not approve of the advice, but did not dare to own his dislike; and so sent his son with the order, but with a solemn conjuration to return again, which he accordingly did, bringing a letter from the company in the ship—that they would not obey the captain, nor any other, in this matter, but were resolved to stand on their own defence. This letter satisfied the dissuava, who thereupon gave the captain leave to write for what he would have brought him from the ship, pretending that he had not the king's order to release them, though it would suddenly come.

The captain seeing he was held in suspense, and the season of the year spending for the ship to proceed on her voyage to some place, sent order to Mr. John Burford, the chief mate, to take charge of the ship, and set sail to Porta

Nova, from whence they came, and there to follow the agent's order

And now began that long and sad captivity they all along feared. The ship being gone, the dissuava was called up to the king, and they were kept under guards awhile, till a special order came from the king to part them, and put one in a town, for the conveniency of their maintenance, which the king ordered to be at the charge of the country. On September 16, 1660, the captain and his son were placed in a town called Bonder Cooswat, in the country of Hotcurly, distant from the city of Candi northward thirty miles, and from the rest of the English, a full day's journey. Here they had their provisions brought them twice a day, without money, as much as they could eat, and as good as the country yielded. The situation of the place was very pleasant and commodious; but that year that part of the land was very sickly by agues and fevers, of which many died. The captain and his son, after some time, were visited with the common distemper, and the captain being also loaded with grief for his deplorable condition, languished more than three months, and then died, February the 9th, 1661,

Robert Knox, his son, was now left desolate, sick, and in captivity, having none to comfort him but God, who is the father of the fatherless, and hears the groans of such as are in captivity, being alone to enter upon a long scene of misery and calamity, oppressed with weakness of body and grief of soul, for the loss of his father, and his remediless trouble that he was like to endure; and the first instance of it was in the burial of his father: for he sent his black boy to the people of the town, to desire their assistance, because they understood not their language; but they sent him only a rope, to drag him by the neck into the woods, and told him, —that they would offer him no other help, unless he would pay for it. This barbarous answer increased his trouble for his father's death, that now he was like to lie unburied, and be made a prey to the wild beasts in the woods; for the ground was very hard, and they had not tools to dig with, and so it was impossible for them to bury him; and having a small matter of money left him, viz., a pagoda and a gold ring, he hired a man, and so buried him in as decent a manner as their condition would permit.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUSION OF CAPTAIN KNOX'S HISTORY—OUR OWN STORY RESUMED—ADVENTURES AT GOA AND SURAT, AND ACCOUNT OF OUR TRADE WITH THE MERCHANTS IN THESE LATITUDES.

His dead father being thus removed out of his sight, but his ague continuing, he was reduced very low, partly by sorrow, and partly by his disease, All the comfort he had was to go into the woods and fields with a book, either the Practice of Piety, or Mr. Rogers's Seven Treatises, which were the only two books he had, and meditate and read, and sometimes pray; in which his anguish made him often invert Elijah's petition,—that he might die, because his life was a burthen to him. God, though he was pleased to prolong his life, yet he found a way to lighten his grief, by removing his ague, and granting him a desire, which, above all things, was acceptable to him. He had read his two books over so often, that he had both almost by heart; and though they were both pious and good writings, yet he longed for the truth from the original fountain, and thought it his greatest unhappiness, that he had not a Bible, and did believe that he should never see one again; but, contrary to his expectation, God brought him one after this manner. As he was fishing one day, with his black boy, to catch some fish to relieve his hunger, an old man passed by them, and asked his boy, whether his master could read? and when the boy had answered, yes, he told him,—that he had gotten a book from the Portuguese, when they left Columbo; and, if his master pleased, he would sell it him. The boy told his master, who bade him go and see what book it was. The boy having served the English some time, knew the book, and, as soon as he had got it into his hand, came running to him, calling out before he came to him,—It is the Bible! The words startled him, and he flung down his angle to meet him, and, finding it true, was mightily rejoiced to see it; but he was afraid he should not have enough to purchase it, though he was resolved to part with all the money he had, which was but one pagoda, to buy it;

but his black boy, persuading him to slight it, and leave it to him to buy it, he at length obtained it for a knit cap.

This accident he could not but look upon as a great miracle, —that God should bestow upon him such an extraordinary blessing, and bring him a Bible in his own native language, in such a remote part of the world, where his name was not known, and where it was never heard of that an Englishman had ever been before. The enjoyment of this mercy was a great comfort to him in captivity; and though he wanted no bodily convenience that the country did afford; for the king, immediately after his father's death, had sent an express order to the people of the towns, that they should be kind to him, and give him good victuals; and, after he had been some time in the country, and understood the language, he got him good conveniences, as, a house and gardens; and falling to husbandry, God so prospered him, that he had plenty, not only for himself, but to lend others; which being, according to the custom of the country, at fifty per cent. a-year, much enriched him; he had also goats, which served him for mutton, and hogs and hens: notwithstanding this, I say, for he lived as fine as any of their noblemen, he could not so far forget his native country as to be contented to dwell in a strange land, where there was to him a famine of God's word and sacraments, the want of which made all other things to be of little value to him; therefore, as he made it his daily and fervent prayer to God, in his good time, to restore him to both, so, at length, he, with one Stephen Rutland, who had lived with him two years before, resolved to make their escape, and, about the year 1673, meditated all secret ways to compass it. They had before taken up a way of peddling about the country, and buying tobacco, pepper, garlic, combs, and all sorts of iron ware, and carried them into those parts of the country where they wanted them; and now, to promote their design, as they went with their commodities from place to place, they discoursed with the country people (for they could not speak their language well) concerning the ways and inhabitants, where the isle was thinnest and fullest inhabited, where and how the watches lay from one country to another, and what commodities were proper for them to carry into all parts; pretending that they would furnish themselves with such wares as the respective places wanted. None doubted but what they did was upon the account of trade, because that

he (Mr. Knox), who was so well seated, could not be supposed to leave such an estate, by travelling northward, because that part of the land was least inhabited. And so furnishing themselves with such wares as were vendible in those parts, they set forth, and steered their course towards the north part of the islands, knowing very little of the ways, which were generally intricate and perplexed, because they have no public roads, but a multitude of little paths from one town to another, and those often changing; and for white men to inquire about the ways was very dangerous, because the people would presently suspect their design.

At this time they travelled from Canda Uda, as far as the country of Neurecalava, which is in the farthermost parts of the king's dominions, and about three days' journey from their dwelling. They were very thankful to Providence that they had passed all difficulties so far, but yet durst not go any farther, because they had no wares left to traffic with; and it being the first time they had been absent so long from home, they feared the townsmen would come after them to seek for them; and so they returned home, and went eight or ten times into those parts with their wares, till they became well acquainted both with the people and the paths.

In these parts Mr. Knox met his black boy, whom he had turned away divers years before. He had now got a wife and children, and was very poor; but being acquainted with these quarters, he not only took directions of him, but agreed with him, for a good reward, to conduct him and his companions to the Dutch. He gladly undertook, and a time was appointed between them; but Mr. Knox being disabled by a grievous pain, which seized him on his right side, and held him five days, that he could not travel, this appointment proved in vain; for though he went as soon as he was well, his guide was gone into another country about his business, and they durst not at that time venture to run away without him. These attempts took up eight or nine years, various accidents hindering their designs, but most commonly the dry weather, because they feared, in the woods, they should be starved with thirst, all the country being in such a condition almost four or five years together for lack of rain.

On September 22, 1679, they set forth again, furnished with knives and small axes, for their defence, because they could carry them privately, and send all sorts of wares to

sell, as formerly, and all necessary provisions, the moon being twenty-seven days' old, that they might have light to run away by, to try what success God Almighty would now give them in seeking their liberty. Their first stage was to Anarodgburro, in the way to which lay a wilderness, called Parraoth Mocolane, full of wild elephants, tigers, and bears; and because it is the utmost confines of the king's dominions, there is always a watch kept.

In the middle of their way they heard that the governor's officers of these parts were out to gather up the king's revenues and duties, to send them up to the city; which put them into no small fear, lest, finding them, they should send them back again: whereupon they withdrew to the western parts of Ecpoulpot, and sat down to knitting, till they heard the officers were gone. As soon as they were departed, they went onwards of their journey, having got a good parcel of cotton yarn to knit caps with, and having kept their wares, as they pretended, to exchange for dried flesh, which was sold only in those lower parts. Their way lay necessarily through the governor's yard at Collinilla, who dwells there on purpose to examine all that go and come. This greatly distressed them, because he would easily suspect they were out of their bounds, being captives; however, they went resolutely to his house, and meeting him, presented him with a small parcel of tobacco and betel; and showing him their wares, told him they came to get dried flesh to carry back with them. The governor did not suspect them, but told them, he was sorry they came in so dry a time, when no deer could be catched, but if some rain fell, he would soon supply them. This answer pleased them, and they seemed contented to stay; and accordingly, abiding with him two or three days, and no rain falling, they presented the governor with five or six charges of gunpowder, which is a rarity among them; and leaving a bundle at his house, they desired him to shoot them some deer, while they made a step to Anarodgburro. Here also they were put in a great fright, by the coming of certain soldiers from the king to the governor, to give him orders to set a secure guard at the watches, that no suspicious persons might pass; which, though it was only intended to prevent the flight of the relations of certain nobles whom the king had clapped up, yet they feared they might wonder to see white men here,

and so send them back again: but God so ordered it, that they were very kind to them, and left them to their business, and so they got safe to Anarodgburro. Their pretence was dried flesh, though they knew there was none to be had; but their real business was to search the way down to the Dutch, which they stayed three days to do: but finding, that in the way to Jafnapatan, which is one of the Dutch ports, there was a watch which could hardly be passed, and other inconveniences not surmountable, they resolved to go back, and take the river Malwatogah, which they had before judged would be a probable guide to lead them to the sea; and, that they might not be pursued, left Anarodgburro just at night, when the people never travel for fear of wild beasts, on Sunday, Oct. 12, being stored with all things needful for their journey, viz., ten days' provision, a basin to boil their provision in, two calabashes to fetch water in, and two great tallipat leaves for tents, with jaggory, sweetmeats, tobacco, betel, tinder-boxes, and a deer-skin for shoes, to keep their feet from thorns, because to them they chiefly trusted. Being come to the river, they struck into the woods, and kept by the side of it; yet not going on the sand (lest their footsteps should be discerned), unless forced, and then going backwards.

Being got a good way into the wood, it began to rain; wherefore they erected their tents, made a fire, and refreshed themselves against the rising of the moon, which was then eighteen days' old; and having tied deer-skins about their feet, and eased themselves of their wares, they proceeded in their journey. When they had travelled three or four hours with difficulty, because the moon gave but little light among the thick trees, they found an elephant in their way before them, and, because they could not scare him away, they were forced to stay till morning; and so they kindled a fire, and took a pipe of tobacco. By the light they could not discern that ever anybody had been there, nothing being to be seen but woods; and so they were in great hopes that they were past all danger, being beyond all inhabitants; but they were mistaken, for the river winding northward, brought them into the midst of a parcel of towns, called Tissea Wava, where, being in danger of being seen, they were under a mighty terror; for, had the people found them, they would have beat them, and sent

them up to the king; and, to avoid it, they crept into a hollow tree, and sat there in mud and wet, till it began to grow dark, and then, betaking themselves to their legs, travelled till the darkness of night stopped them. They heard voices behind them, and feared it was somebody in pursuit of them; but at length, discerning it was only an hallooing to keep the wild beasts out of the corn, they pitched their tents by the river, and having boiled rice, and roasted meat for their suppers, and satisfied their hunger, they committed themselves to God's keeping, and laid them down to sleep.

The next morning, to prevent the worst, they got up early, and hastened on their journey; and though they were now got out of all danger of the tame Chiangulays, they were in great danger of the wild ones, of whom those woods were full; and though they saw their tents, yet they were all gone, since the rains had fallen, from the river into the woods; and so God kept them from that danger; for, had they met the wild men, they had been shot.

Thus they travelled from morning till night several days, through bushes and thorns, which made their arms and shoulders, which were naked, all of a gore blood. They often met with bears, hogs, deer, and wild buffaloes; but they all ran away as soon as they saw them. The river was exceeding full of alligators. In the evening they used to pitch their tents, and make great fires both before and behind them, to affright the wild beasts; and though they heard the voices of all sorts, they saw none.

On Thursday, at noon, they crossed the river Coronda Oya, which parts the country of the Malabars from the king's, and on Friday, about nine or ten in the morning, came among the inhabitants, of whom they were as much afraid as of the Chiangulays before; for, though the Wanniounay, or prince of the people, payeth tribute to the Dutch out of fear, yet he is better affected to the king of Candi, and, if he had took them, would have sent them up to their old master; but, not knowing any way to escape, they kept on their journey by the river-side, by day, because the woods are not to be travelled by night, for thorns and wild beasts, who come down then to the river to drink. In all the Malabar country they met with only two Bramans, who treated them civilly; and for their money, one of them

conducted them till they came into the territories of the Dutch, and out of all danger of the king of Candi, which did not a little rejoice them; but yet they were in no small trouble how to find the way out of the woods, till a Malabar, for the lucre of a knife, conducted them to a Dutch town, where they found guides to conduct them from town to town, till they came to the fort called Arepa, where they arrived Saturday, October 18, 1679, and there thankfully adored God's wonderful providence, in thus completing their deliverance from a long captivity of nineteen years and six months.

I come now back to my own history, which grows near a conclusion, as to the travels I took in this part of the world. We were now at sea, and we stood away to the north for a while to try if we could get a market for our spices; for we were very rich in nutmegs, but we ill knew what to do with them: we durst not go upon the English coast, or, to speak more properly, among the English factories, to trade; not that we were afraid to fight any two ships they had; and besides that, we knew, that as they had no letters of marque, or of reprisals, from the government, so it was none of their business to act offensively, no, not though we were pirates. Indeed, if we had made any attempt upon them, they might have justified themselves in joining together to resist, and assisting one another to defend themselves; but to go out of their business to attack a pirate ship of almost fifty guns, as we were, it was plain that it was none of their business, and consequently it was none of our concern; so we did not trouble ourselves about it: but, on the other hand, it was none of our business to be seen among them, and to have the news of us carried from one factory to another, so that whatever design we might be upon at another time, we should be sure to be prevented and discovered: much less had we any occasion to be seen among the Dutch factories, upon the coast of Malabar; for, being fully loaden with the spices which we had, in the sense of their trade, plundered them of, it would soon have told them what we were, and all that we had been doing; and they would, no doubt, have concerned themselves all manner of ways to have fallen upon us.

The only way we had for it was to stand away for Goa, and trade, if we could, for our spices with the Portuguese

factory there. Accordingly, we sailed almost thither, for we had made land two days before, and, being in the latitude of Goa, where standing in fair for Marmagoon, on the head of Salsat, at the going up to Goa, when I called to the men at the helm to bring the ship to, and bid the pilot go away N.N.W. till we came out of sight of the shore; when William and I called a council, as we used to do upon emergencies, what course we should take to trade there, and not be discovered; and we concluded at length, that we would not go thither at all; but that William, with such trusty fellows only as could be depended upon, should go in the sloop to Surat, which was still farther northward, and trade there as merchants, with such of the English factory as they could find to be for their turn.

To carry this with the more caution, and so as not to be suspected, we agreed to take out all her guns, and put such men into her, and no other, as would promise us not to desire or offer to go on shore, or to enter into any talk or conversation with any that might come on board; and, to finish the disguise to our mind, William documented two of our men, one a surgeon, as he himself was, and the other a ready-witted fellow, an old sailor, that had been a pilot upon the coast of New England, and was an excellent mimic; these two, William dressed up like two quakers, and made them talk like such. The old pilot he made go captain of the sloop, and the surgeon for doctor, as he was, and himself supercargo: in this figure, and the sloop all plain, no carved work upon her (indeed she had not much before), and no guns to be seen, away he went for Surat.

I should, indeed, have observed that we went some days before we parted to a small sandy island, close under the shore, where there was a good cove of deep water, like a road, and out of sight of any of the factories, which are here very thick upon the coast. Here we shifted the loading of the sloop, and put into her such things only as we had a mind to dispose of there, which was indeed little but nutmegs and cloves, but chiefly the former; and from thence William and his two quakers, with about eighteen men in the sloop, went away to Surat, and came to an anchor at a distance from the factory.

William used such caution, that he found means to go on shore himself, and the doctor, as he called him, in a boat

which came on board them to sell fish, rowed with only Indians of the country, which boat he afterwards hired to carry him on board again. It was not long that they were on shore, but that they found means to get acquaintance with some Englishmen, who, though they lived there, and perhaps were the Company's servants at first, yet appeared then to be traders for themselves, in whatever coast-business especially came in their way; and the doctor was made the first to pick acquaintance; so he recommended his friend, the supercargo, till, by degrees, the merchants were as fond of the bargain as our men were of the merchants, only that the cargo was a little too much for them.

However, this did not prove a difficulty long with them; for the next day they brought two more merchants, English also, into their bargain; and, as William could perceive by their discourse, they resolved, if they bought them, to carry them to the gulf of Persia, upon their own accounts: William took the hint, and, as he told me afterwards, concluded we might carry them there as well as they; but this was not William's present business; he had here no less than three-and-thirty tons of nuts, and eighteen tons of cloves. There was a good quantity of mace among the nutmegs; but we did not stand to make much allowance; in short, they bargained; and the merchants, who would gladly have bought sloop and all, gave William directions, and two men for pilots, to go to a creek about six leagues from the factory, where they brought boats, and unloaded the whole cargo, and paid William very honestly for it; the whole parcel amounting, in money, to about thirty-five thousand pieces of eight, besides some goods of value, which William was content to take, and two large diamonds, worth about three hundred pounds sterling.

When they paid the money, William invited them on board the sloop, where they came; and the merry old quaker diverted them exceedingly with his talk, and thee'd 'em and and thou'd 'em till he made 'em so drunk that they could not go on shore for that night.

They would fain have known who our people were, and whence they came; but not a man in the sloop would answer them to any question they asked, but in such manner as let them think themselves bantered and jested with.

However, in discourse, William said, they were able men for any cargo we could have brought them, and that they would have bought twice as much spice if we had had it. He ordered the merry captain to tell them, that they had another sloop that lay at Marmagoon, and that had a great quantity of spice on board also; and that, if it was not sold when he went back (for that thither he was bound), he would bring her up.

Their new chaps were so eager, that they would have bargained with the old captain beforehand: nay, friend, said he, I will not trade with thee unsight and unseen; neither do I know, whether the master of the sloop may not have sold his loading already to some merchants of Salsat: but if he has not, when I come to him, I think to bring him up to thee.

The doctor had his employment all this while, as well as William and the old captain; for he went on shore several times a day in the Indian boat, and brought fresh provisions for the sloop, which the men had need enough of: he brought, in particular, seventeen large casks of arrack, as big as butts, besides smaller quantities, a quantity of rice, and abundance of fruits, mangoes, pompions, and such things, with fowls and fish. He never came on board but he was deep laden; for, in short, he bought for the ship, as well as for themselves; and particularly, they half loaded the ship with rice and arrack, with some hogs, and six or seven cows, alive; and thus, being well victualled, and having directions for coming again, they returned to us.

William was always the lucky welcome messenger to us, but never more welcome to us than now; for where we had thrust in the ship, we could get nothing, except a few mangoes and roots, being not willing to make any steps into the country, or make ourselves known, till we had news of our sloop; and indeed our men's patience was almost tired; for it was seventeen days that William spent upon this enterprise, and well bestowed too.

When he came back, we had another conference upon the subject of trade, namely, whether we should send the rest of our spices, and other goods we had in the ship, to Surat; or, whether we should go up to the gulf of Persia ourselves, where it was probable we might sell them as well as the English merchants of Surat. William was for going our-

selves, which by the way, was from the good frugal merchant-like temper of the man, who was for the best of everything; but here I overruled William, which I very seldom took upon me to do; but I told him, that, considering our circumstances, it was much better for us to sell all our cargoes here, though we made but half price of them, than to go with them to the gulf of Persia, where we should run a greater risk, and where people would be much more curious and inquisitive into things than they were here, and where it would not be so easy to manage them, seeing they traded freely and openly there, not by stealth, as those men seemed to do; and besides, if they suspected anything, it would be much more difficult for us to retreat, except by mere force, than here, where we were upon the high sea, as it were, and could be gone whenever we pleased, without any disguise, or indeed without the least appearance of being pursued, none knowing where to look for us.

My apprehensions prevailed with William, whether my reasons did or no, and he submitted; and we resolved to try another ship's loading to the same merchants. The main business was to consider how to get off of that circumstance that had exposed them to the English merchants; namely, that it was our other sloop; but this the old quaker pilot undertook; for being, as I said, an excellent mimic himself, it was the easier for him to dress up the sloop in new clothes; and first, he put on all the carved work he had taken off before; her stern, which was painted of a dumb white, or dun colour, before all flat, was now all lackered, and blue, and I know not how many gay figures in it; as to her quarter, the carpenters made her a neat little gallery on either side; she had twelve guns put into her, and some patereroes upon her gunnel, none of which were there before; and, to finish her new habit, or appearance, and make her change complete, he ordered her sails to be altered; and as she sailed before with a half-sprit, like a yacht, she sailed now with square sail and mizen-mast, like a ketch; so that, in a word, she was a perfect cheat, disguised in everything that a stranger could be supposed to take any notice of, that had never had but one view; for they had been but once on board.

In this mean figure the sloop returned; she had a new man put into her for captain, one we knew how to trust; and

the old pilot appearing only as a passenger, the doctor and William acting as the supercargoes, by a formal procuration from one Captain Singleton, and all things ordered in form.

We had a complete loading for the sloop; for, besides a very great quantity of nutmegs and cloves, mace, and some cinnamon, she had on board some goods, which we took in as we lay about the Philippine islands, while we waited as looking for purchase.

William made no difficulty of selling this cargo also, and in about twenty days returned again, freighted with all necessary provisions for our voyage, and for a long time; and, as I say, we had a great deal of other goods, he brought us back about three-and-thirty thousand pieces of eight, and some diamonds, which, though William did not pretend to much skill in, yet he made shift to act so as not to be imposed upon, the merchants he had to deal with too being very fair men.

They had no difficulty at all with these merchants; for the prospect they had of gain made them not at all inquisitive; nor did they make the least discovery of the sloop; and as to the selling them spices which were fetched so far from thence, it seems it was not so much a novelty there, as we believed; for the Portuguese had frequently vessels which came from Macao in China, who brought spices, which they bought of the Chinese traders, who again frequently dealt among the Dutch Spice Islands, and received spices in exchange for such goods as they carried from China.

This might be called, indeed, the only trading voyage we had made; and now we were really very rich; and it came now naturally before us to consider whither we should go next. Our proper delivery port, as we ought to have called it, was at Madagascar, in the bay of Mangahelly; but William took me by myself into the cabin of the sloop one day, and told me, he wanted to talk seriously with me a little; so we shut ourselves in, and William began with me.

CHAPTER XIX.

WILLIAM'S CONVERSATION WITH ME—HIS CONTRIVANCES TO GET OFF, ALONG WITH ME, FROM THE REST, AT THE SAME TIME SECURING OUR PROPERTY—THEIR SUCCESSFUL ISSUE—WE STAY TWO MONTHS AT BASSORA—MY TROUBLE OF MIND.

WILT thou give me leave, says William, to talk plainly with thee upon thy present circumstances, and thy future prospect of living; and wilt thou promise, on thy word, to take nothing ill of me?

With all my heart, said I, William; I have always found your advice good; and your designs have not only been well laid, but your counsel has been very lucky to us; and, therefore, say what you will, I promise you I will not take it ill.

But that is not all my demand, says William; if thou dost not like what I am going to propose to thee, thou shalt promise me not to make it public among the men.

I will not, William, says I, upon my word; and swore to him too very heartily.

Why then, says William, I have but one thing more to article with thee about, and that is, that thou wilt consent, that, if thou dost not approve of it for thyself, thou wilt yet consent that I shall put so much of it in practice as relates to myself and my new comrade doctor, so that it be in nothing to thy detriment and loss.

In anything, says I, William, but leaving me, I will; but I cannot part with you upon any terms whatever.

Well, says William, I am not designing to part from thee, unless it is thy own doing; but assure me in all these points, and I will tell my mind freely.

So I promised him everything he desired of me, in the most solemn manner possible, and so seriously and frankly withal, that William made no scruple to open his mind to me.

Why then, in the first place, says William, shall I ask thee if thou dost not think thou and all thy men are rich

enough, and have really gotten as much wealth together (by whatsoever way it has been gotten, that is not the question), as ye all know what to do with?

Why, truly, William, said I, thou art pretty right; I think we have had pretty good luck.

Well then, says William, I would ask, whether, if thou hast gotten enough, thou hast any thought of leaving off this trade; for most people leave off trading when they are satisfied with getting, and are rich enough; for nobody trades for the sake of trading; much less do any men rob for the sake of thieving.

Well, William, says I, now I perceive what it is thou art driving at: I warrant you, says I, you begin to hanker after home.

Why, truly, says William, thou hast said it, and so I hope thou dost too. It is natural for most men that are abroad to desire to come home again at last, especially when they are grown rich, and when they are (as thou ownest thyself to be) rich enough, and so rich, as they know not what to do with more, if they had it.

Well, William, said I, but now you think you have laid your preliminary at first so home, that I should have nothing to say; that is, that when I had got money enough, it would be natural to think of going home; but you have not explained what you mean by home; and there you and I shall differ. Why, man, I am at home; here is my habitation; I never had any other in my lifetime: I was a kind of a charity-school boy; so that I can have no desire of going anywhere for being rich or poor, for I have nowhere to go.

Why, says William, looking a little confused, art not thou an Englishman?

Yes, says I, I think so; you see I speak English: but I came out of England a child, and never was in it but once since I was a man; and then I was cheated and imposed upon, and used so ill, that I care not if I never see it more.

Why, hast thou no relations or friends there? says he: no acquaintance? none that thou hast any kindness, or any remains of respect for?

Not I, William, said I; not one, more than I have in the court of the Great Mogul

Nor any kindness for the country where thou wast born? says William.

Not I, any more than for the island of Madagascar, nor so much neither; for that has been a fortunate island to me more than once, as thou knowest, William, said I.

William was quite stunned at my discourse, and held his peace; and I said to him, Go on, William; what hast thou to say farther? for I hear you have some project in your head, says I; come, let's have it out.

Nay, says William, thou hast put me to silence, and all I had to say is overthrown; all my projects are come to nothing, and gone.

Well, but, William, said I, let me hear what they were; for though it is so that what I have to aim at does not look your way, and though I have no relation, no friend, no acquaintance in England, yet I do not say I like this roving, cruising life so well as never to give it over: let me hear if thou canst propose to me anything beyond it.

Certainly, friend, says William, very gravely, there is something beyond it; and lifting up his hands, he seemed very much affected, and I thought I saw tears standing in his eyes; but I, that was too hardened a wretch to be moved with these things, laughed at him. What! says I, you mean death, I warrant you; don't you? that is beyond this trade. Why, when it comes, it comes; then we are all provided for.

Aye, says William, that is true; but it would be better that some things were thought on before that came.

Thought on! says I; what signifies thinking of it? To think of death, is to die; and to be always thinking of it, is to be all one's life long a-dying: it is time enough to think of it when it comes.

You will easily believe I was well qualified for a pirate, that could talk thus; but let me leave it upon record, for the remark of other hardened rogues like myself. My conscience gave me a pang that I had never felt before, when I said—What signifies thinking of it? and told me, I should one day think of these words with a sad heart; but the time of my reflection was not yet come; so I went on.

Says William, very seriously, I must tell thee, friend, I am sorry to hear thee talk so: they that never think of dying, often die without thinking of it.

I carried on the jesting way a while farther, and said—Prithee do not talk of dying; how do we know we shall ever die? and began to laugh.

I need not answer thee to that, says William; it is not my place to reprove thee who art commander over me here; but I had rather thou wouldst talk otherwise of death; it is a coarse thing.

Say anything to me, William, said I, I will take it kindly. I began now to be very much moved at his discourse.

Says William (tears running down his face), it is because men live as if they were never to die, that so many die before they know how to live; but it was not death that I meant, when I said,—That there was something to be thought of beyond this way of living.

Why, William, said I, what was that?

It was repentance, says he.

Why, says I, did you ever know a pirate repent?

At this he started a little, and returned,—At the gallows I have known one repent, and I hope thou wilt be the second.

He spoke this very affectionately, with an appearance of concern for me.

Well, William, says I, I thank you, and I am not so senseless of these things, perhaps, as I make myself seem to be; but come, let me hear your proposal.

My proposal, says William, is for thy good, as well as my own. We may put an end to this kind of life, and repent; and I think the fairest occasion offers for both, at this very time, that ever did, or ever will, or indeed can happen again.

Look you, William, says I, let me have your proposal for putting an end to our present way of living first, for that is the case before us, and you and I will talk of the other afterward. I am not so insensible, said I, as you may think me to be; but let us get out of this hellish condition we are in first.

Nay, says William, thou art in the right there; we must never talk of repenting while we continue pirates.

Well, says I, William, that it is what I meant; for if we must not reform, as well as be sorry for wnat is done, I have no notion what repentance means: indeed, at best I know little of the matter; but the nature of the thing seems to tell me, that the first step we have to take, is to break off this

wretched course; and I'll begin there with you, with all my heart.

I could see by his countenance that William was thoroughly pleased with the offer; and if he had tears in his eyes before, he had more now; but it was from a quite different passion; for he was so swallowed up with joy he could not speak.

Come, William, says I, thou showest me plain enough thou hast an honest meaning. Dost thou think it is practicable for us to put an end to our unhappy way of living here, and get off?

Yes, says he, I think it is very practicable for me; whether it is for thee or no, that will depend upon thyself.

Well, says I, I give you my word, that as I have commanded you all along, from the time I first took you on board, so you shall command me from this hour, and everything you direct me I'll do.

Wilt thou leave it all to me? Dost thou say this freely?

Yes, William, says I, freely; and I'll perform it faithfully.

Why then, says William, my scheme is this:—We are now at the mouth of the gulf of Persia; we have sold so much of our cargo here at Surat, that we have money enough: send me away for Bassora with the sloop, loaden with the China goods we have on board, which will make another good cargo, and I'll warrant thee I'll find means, among the English and the Dutch merchants there, to lodge a quantity of goods and money also as a merchant, so as we will be able to have recourse to it again upon any occasion; and when I come home, we will contrive the rest; and in the mean time do you bring the ship's crew to take a resolution to go to Madagascar, as soon as I return.

I told him I thought he need not go so far as Bassora, but might run into Gombaroon, or to Ormus, and pretend the same business.

No, says he, I cannot act with the same freedom there, because the Company's factory are there, and I may be laid hold of there, on pretence of interloping.

Well, but, said I, you may go to Ormus then; for I am loath to part with you so long as to go to the bottom of the Persian Gulf. He returned, that I should leave it to him to do as he should see cause.

We had taken a large sum of money at Surat; so that we had near a hundred thousand pounds in money at our

command; but on board the great ship we had still a great deal more.

I ordered him publicly to keep the money on board which he had, and to buy up with it a quantity of ammunition, if he could get it, and so to furnish us for new exploits; and in the meantime I resolved to get a quantity of gold, and some jewels, which I had on board the great ship, and place them so that I might carry them off without notice, as soon as he came back; and so, according to William's directions, I left him to go the voyage, and I went on board the great ship, in which we had indeed an immense treasure.

We waited no less than two months for William's return; and indeed I began to be very uneasy about William, sometimes thinking he had abandoned me, and that he might have used the same artifice to have engaged the other men to comply with him, and so they were gone away together; and it was but three days before his return that I was just upon the point of resolving to go away to Madagascar, and give him over; but the old surgeon, who mimicked the quaker, and passed for the master of the sloop at Surat, persuaded me against that; for which good advice, and his apparent faithfulness in what he had been trusted with, I made him a party to my design, and he proved very honest.

At length William came back, to our inexpressible joy, and brought a great many necessary things with him; as, particularly, he brought sixty barrels of powder, some iron shot, and about thirty tons of lead; also he brought a great deal of provisions; and, in a word, William gave me a public account of his voyage, in the hearing of whoever happened to be upon the quarter-deck, that no suspicions might be found about us.

After all was done, William moved, that he might go up again, and that I would go with him; named several things which we had on board that he could not sell there; and particularly told us, he had been obliged to leave several things there, the caravans not being come in; and that he had engaged to come back again with goods.

This was what I wanted. The men were eager for his going, and particularly because he told them they might load the sloop back with rice and provisions; but I seemed backward to going; when the old surgeon stood up, and persuaded me to go, and with many arguments pressed me

to it; as, particulary, if I did not go, there would be no order, and several of the men might drop away, and perhaps betray all the rest; and that they should not think it safe for the sloop to go again, if I did not go; and, to urge me to it, he offered himself to go with me.

Upon these considerations, I seemed to be overpersuaded to go; and all the company seemed the better satisfied when I had consented; and accordingly we took all the powder, lead, and iron out of the sloop into the great ship, and all the other things that were for the ship's use, and put in some bales of spices, and casks or frails of cloves, in all about seven tons, and some other goods, among the bales of which I had conveyed all my private treasure, which, I assure you, was of no small value; and away I went.

At going off, I called a council of all the officers in the ship, to consider in what place they should wait for me, and how long; and we appointed the ship to stay eight-and-twenty days at a little island on the Arabian side of the gulf; and that, if the sloop did not come in that time, they should sail to another island to the west of that place, and wait there fifteeen days more; and then, if the sloop did not come, they should conclude some accident must have happened, and the rendezvous should be at Madagascar.

Being thus resolved, we left the ship, which both William and I, and the surgeon, never intended to see any more. We steered directly for the gulf, and through to Bassora, or Balsara. This city of Balsara lies at some distance from the place where our sloop lay, and the river not being very safe, and we but ill acquainted with it, having but an ordinary pilot, we went on shore at a village where some merchants live, and which is very populous, for the sake of small vessels riding there.

Here we stayed and traded three or four days, landing all our bales and spices, and indeed the whole cargo, that was of any considerable value; which we chose to do, rather than go up immediately to Balsara, till the project we had laid was put in execution.

After we had bought several goods, and were preparing to buy several others, the boat being on shore with twelve men, myself, William, the surgeon, and one fourth man, whom we had singled out, we contrived to send a Turk, just at the dusk of the evening, with a letter to the boatswain; and

giving the fellow a charge to run with all possible speed, we stood at a small distance, to observe the event. The contents of the letter were thus written by the old doctor.

"BOATSWAIN THOMAS,

We are all betrayed. For God's sake make off with the boat, and get on board, or you are all lost. The captain, William the quaker, and George the reformade, are seized and carried away: I am escaped, and hid, but cannot stir out; if I do, I am a dead man. As soon as you are on board, cut or slip, and make sail for your lives. Adieu.

R. S."

We stood undiscovered, as above, it being the dusk of the evening, and saw the Turk deliver the letter; and in three minutes we saw all the men hurry into the boat, and put off; and no sooner were they on board than they took the hint, as we supposed; for the next morning they were out of sight, and we never heard tale or tidings of them since.

We were now in a good place, and in very good circumstances; for we passed for merchants of Persia.

It is not material to record here what a mass of ill-gotten wealth we had got together: it will be more to the purpose to tell you, that I began to be sensible of the crime of getting of it in such a manner as I had done; that I had very little satisfaction in the possession of it; and, as I told William, I had no expectation of keeping it, nor much desire; but, as I said to him one day walking out into the fields near the town of Bassora, so I depended upon it, that it would be the case, which you will hear presently.

We were perfectly secured at Bassora, by having frightened away the rogues, our comrades; and we had nothing to do but to consider how to convert our treasure into things proper to make us look like merchants, as we were now to be, and not like freebooters, as we really had been.

We happened very opportunely here upon a Dutchman, who had travelled from Bengal to Agra, the capital city of the Great Mogul, and from thence was come to the coast of Malabar by land, and got shipping, some how or other, up the gulf; and we found his design was to go up the great river to Bagdat or Babylon, and so, by the caravan, to

Aleppo and Scanderoon. As William spoke Dutch, and was of an agreeable, insinuating behaviour, he soon got acquainted with this Dutchman, and, discovering our circumstances to one another, we found he had considerable effects with him; and that he had traded long in that country, and was making homeward to his own country; and that he had servants with him; one an Armenian, whom he had taught to speak Dutch, and who had something of his own, but had a mind to travel into Europe; and the other a Dutch sailor, whom he had picked up by his fancy, and reposed a great trust in him, and a very honest fellow he was.

This Dutchman was very glad of an acquaintance, because he soon found that we directed our thoughts to Europe also; and as he found we were encumbered with goods only (for we let him know nothing of our money), he readily offered us his assistance to dispose of as many of them as the place we were in would put off, and his advice what to do with the rest.

While this was doing, William and I consulted what to do with ourselves and what we had; and, first, we resolved we would never talk seriously of any of our measures but in the open fields, where we were sure nobody could hear; so every evening, when the sun began to decline, and the air to be moderate, we walked out, sometimes this way, sometimes that, to consult of our affairs.

I should have observed, that we had new clothed ourselves here after the Persian manner, in long vests of silk, a gown or robe of English crimson cloth, very fine and handsome, and let our beards grow so after the Persian manner, that we passed for Persian merchants, in view only, though, by the way, we could not understand or speak one word of the language of Persia, or indeed of any other but English and Dutch; and of the latter I understood very little.

However, the Dutchman supplied all this for us; and as we had resolved to keep ourselves as retired as we could, though there were several English merchants upon the place, yet we never acquainted ourselves with one of them, or exchanged a word with them; by which means we prevented their inquiry of us now, or their giving any intelligence of us, if any news of our landing here should happen to come, which, it was easy for us to know, was possible enough, if any of

our comrades fell into bad hands, or by many accidents which we could not foresee.

It was during my being here, for here we stayed near two months, that I grew very thoughtful about my circumstances; not as to the danger, neither indeed were we in any, but were entirely concealed and unsuspected; but I really began to have other thoughts of myself, and of the world, than ever I had before.

William had struck so deep into my unthinking temper, with hinting to me that there was something beyond all this; that the present time was the time of enjoyment, but that the time of account approached; that the work that remained was gentler than the labour past, viz., repentance, and that it was high time to think of it: I say these, and such thoughts as these, engrossed my hours, and, in a word, I grew very sad.

As to the wealth I had, which was immensely great, it was all like dirt under my feet; I had no value for it, no peace in the possession of it, no great concern about me for the leaving of it.

William had perceived my thoughts to be troubled, and my mind heavy and oppressed for some time; and one evening, in one of our cool walks, I began with him about the leaving our effects. William was a wise and wary man; and indeed all the prudentials of my conduct had for a long time been owing to his advice, and so now all the methods for preserving our effects, and even ourselves, lay upon him; and he had been telling me of some of the measures he had been taking for our making homeward, and for the security of our wealth, when I took him very short. Why, William, says I, dost thou think we shall ever be able to reach Europe with all this cargo that we have about us?

Aye, says William, without doubt, as well as other merchants with theirs, as long as it is not publicly known what quantity, or of what value our cargo consists.

Why, William, says I, smiling, do you think that, if there is a God above, as you have so long been telling me there is, and that we must give an account to him; I say, do you think, if he be a righteous judge, he will let us escape thus with the plunder, as we may call it, of so many innocent people, nay, I might say nations, and not call us to

an account for it before we can get to Europe, where we pretend to enjoy it?

William appeared struck and surprised at the question, and made no answer for a great while; and I repeated the question, adding that it was not to be expected.

After a little pause, says William, thou hast started a very weighty question, and I can make no positive answer to it; but I will state it thus: first, it is time that, if we consider the justice of God, we have no reason to expect any protection; but as the ordinary ways of Providence are out of the common road of human affairs, so we may hope for mercy still upon our repentance, and we know not how good he may be to us; so we are to act as if we rather depended upon the last, I mean the merciful part, than claimed the first, which must produce nothing but judgment and vengeance.

But hark ye, William, says I, the nature of repentance, as you hinted once to me, included reformation; and we can never reform; how then can we repent?

Why can we never reform? says William.

Because, said I, we cannot restore what we have taken away by rapine and spoil.

It is true, says William, we can never do that; for we can never come to the knowledge of the owners.

But what then must be done with our wealth, said I, the effects of plunder and rapine? If we keep it, we continue to be robbers and thieves; and if we quit it, we cannot do justice with it, for we cannot restore it to the right owners.

Nay, says William, the answer to it is short. To quit what we have, and do it here, is to throw it away to those who have no claim to it, and to divest ourselves of it, but to do no right with it; whereas we ought to keep it carefully together, with a resolution to do what right with it we are able; and who knows what opportunity Providence may put into our hands, to do justice, at least, to some of those we have injured; so we ought, at least, to leave it to him, and go on. As it is, without doubt, our present business is to go to some place of safety, where we may wait his will.

This resolution of William was very satisfying to me indeed, as, the truth is, all he said, and at all times, was solid and good; and had not William thus, as it were, quieted my

mind, I think verily, I was so alarmed at the just reason I had to expect vengeance from Heaven upon me for my ill-gotten wealth, that I should have run away from it as the devil's goods, that I had nothing to do with, that did not belong to me, and that I had no right to keep, and was in certain danger of being destroyed for.

However, William settled my mind to more prudent steps than these, and I concluded, that I ought, however, to proceed to a place of safety, and leave the event to God Almighty's mercy; but this I must leave upon record, that I had, from this time, no joy of the wealth I had got; I looked upon it as stolen, and so indeed the greatest part of it was; I looked upon it as a hoard of other men's goods, which I had robbed the innocent owners of, and which I ought, in a word, to be hanged for here, and damned for hereafter; and now, indeed, I began sincerely to hate myself for a dog; a wretch, that had been a thief, and a murderer; a wretch, that was in a condition which nobody was ever in; for I had robbed, and though I had the wealth by me, yet it was impossible I should ever make any restitution; and upon this account it ran in my head, that I could never repent, for that repentance could not be sincere without restitution, and therefore must of necessity be damned; there was no room for me to escape; I went about with my heart full of these thoughts, little better than a distracted fellow; in short, running headlong into the most dreadful despair, and premeditating nothing but how to rid myself out of the world; and, indeed, the devil, if such things are of the devil's immediate doing, followed his work very close with me; and nothing lay upon my mind for several days, but to shoot myself into the head with my pistol.

CHAPTER XX.

FARTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH WILLIAM, WHICH QUIET MY CONSCIENCE IN SOME DEGREE — ACCOUNT OF OUR JOURNEY FROM BASSORA TO SCANDEROON, AND FROM THENCE TO VENICE — WILLIAM WRITES TO ENGLAND TO HIS SISTER—HER AFFECTIONATE ANSWER—WE AT LENGTH RETURN TO ENGLAND VERY RICH, WHERE I MARRY WILLIAM'S SISTER—CONCLUSION.

I WAS all this while in a vagrant life, among infidels, Turks, pagans, and such sort of people; I had no minister, no Christian to converse with, but poor William; he was my ghostly father, or confessor; and he was all the comfort I had. As for my knowledge of religion, you have heard my history; you may suppose I had not much; and, as for the word of God, I don't remember that I ever read a chapter in the Bible in my lifetime; I was little Bob at Busselton, and went to school to learn my Testament.

However, it pleased God to make William the quaker everything to me. Upon this occasion, I took him out one evening, as usual, and hurried him away into the fields with me, in more haste than ordinary; and there, in short, I told him the perplexity of my mind, and under what terrible temptations of the devil I had been; that I must shoot myself, for I could not support the weight and terror that was upon me.

Shoot yourself! says William; why, what will that do for you?

Why, says I, it will put an end to a miserable life.

Well, says William, are you satisfied the next will be better?

No, no, says I, much worse, to be sure.

Why then, says he, shooting yourself is the devil's motion, no doubt; for it is the devil of a reason, that, because thou art in an ill case, therefore thou must put thyself into a worse.

This shocked my reason indeed. Well but, says I, there is no bearing the miserable condition I am in.

Very well, says William; but it seems there is some bear-

ing a worse condition; and so you will shoot yourself, that you may be past remedy?

I am past remedy already, says I.

How do you know that? says he.

I am satisfied of it, said I.

Well, says he, but you are not sure; so you will shoot yourself to make it certain; for, though on this side death, you cannot be sure you will be damned at all, yet the moment you step on the other side of time, you are sure of it; for when it is done, it is not to be said then that you will be, but that you are damned.

Well, but, says William, as if he had been between jest and earnest, pray, what didst thou dream of last night?

Why, said I, I had frightful dreams all night; and, particularly, I dreamed that the devil came for me, and asked me what my name was? and I told him. Then he asked me what trade I was? Trade! says I; I am a thief, a rogue, by my calling; I am a pirate, and a murderer, and ought to be hanged. Ay, ay, says the devil, so you do; and you are the man I looked for, and therefore come along with me; at which, I was most horribly frightened, and cried out, so that it waked me; and I have been in horrible agony ever since.

Very well, says William; come, give me the pistol thou talkedst of just now.

Why, says I, what will you do with it?

Do with it! says William, why, thou needest not shoot thyself; I shall be obliged to do it for thee: why, thou wilt destroy us all.

What do you mean, William? said I.

Mean! said he; nay, what didst thou mean, to cry out aloud in thy sleep, I am a thief, a pirate, a murderer, and ought to be hanged? Why, thou wilt ruin us all; 'twas well the Dutchman did not understand English. In short, I must shoot thee, to save my own life: come, come, says he, give me thy pistol.

I confess this terrified me again another way; and I began to be sensible, that, if anybody had been near me to understand English, I had been undone. The thought of shooting myself forsook me from that time; and I turned to William; you disorder me extremely, William, said I; why I am never safe, nor is it safe to keep me company; What shall I do? I shall betray you all.

Come, come, friend Bob, says he, I'll put an end to it all, if you will take my advice.

How's that? said I.

Why, only, says he, that the next time thou talkest with the devil, thou wilt talk a little softlier, or we shall be all undone, and you too.

This frightened me, I must confess, and allayed a great deal of the trouble of mind I was in; but William, after he had done jesting with me, entered upon a very long and serious discourse with me about the nature of my circumstances, and about repentance; that it ought to be attended, indeed, with a deep abhorrence of the crime that I had to charge myself with; but that to despair of God's mercy was no part of repentance, but putting myself into the condition of the devil; indeed, that I must apply myself with a sincere humble confession of my crime, to ask pardon of God, whom I had offended, and cast myself upon his mercy, resolving to be willing to make restitution, if ever it should please God to put it in my power, even to the utmost of what I had in the world; and this, he told me, was the method which he had resolved upon himself; and in this, he told me, he had found comfort.

I had a great deal of satisfaction in William's discourse, and it quieted me very much; but William was very anxious ever after about my talking in my sleep, and took care to lie with me always himself, and to keep me from lodging in any house where so much as a word of English was understood.

However, there was not the like occasion afterward; for I was much more composed in my mind, and resolved, for the future, to live a quite different life from what I had done. As to the wealth I had, I looked upon it as nothing; I resolved to set it apart to any such opportunity of doing justice, as God should put into my hand; and the miraculous opportunity I had afterwards of applying some parts of it to preserve a ruined family, whom I had plundered, may be worth reading, if I have room for it in this account.

With these resolutions, I began to be restored to some degree of quiet in my mind; and having, after almost three months' stay at Bassora, disposed of some goods; but, having a great quantity left, we hired boats, according to the Dutchman's direction, and went up to Bagdat, or Babylon, on the river Tigris, or rather Euphrates. We had a very consider-

able cargo of goods with us, and therefore made a great figure there, and were received with respect: we had, in particular, two-and-forty bales of Indian stuffs of sundry sorts, silks, muslins, and fine chintz: we had fifteen bales of very fine China silks, and seventy packs, or bales, of spices, particularly cloves and nutmegs, with other goods: we were bid money here for our cloves; but the Dutchman advised us not to part with them, and told us we should get a better price at Aleppo, or in the Levant; so we prepared for the caravan.

We concealed our having any gold, or pearls, as much as we could, and therefore sold three or four bales of China silks and Indian calicoes, to raise money to buy camels, and to pay the customs which are taken at several places, and for our provisions over the deserts.

I travelled this journey, careless to the last degree of my goods or wealth, believing, that, as I came by it all by rapine and violence, God would direct, that it should be taken from me again in the same manner; and, indeed, I think I might say, I was very willing it should be so; but, as I had a merciful protector above me, so I had a most faithful steward, counsellor, partner, or whatever I might call him, who was my guide, my pilot, my governor, my everything, and took care both of me, and of all we had; and though he had never been in any of these parts of the world, yet he took the care of all upon him; and in about nine-and-fifty days we arrived from Bassora, at the mouth of the river Tigris or Euphrates, through the desert, and through Aleppo, to Alexandria, or, as we call it, Scanderoon, in the Levant.

Here William and I, and the other two, our faithful comrades, debated what we should do; and here William and I resolved to separate from the other two, they resolving to go with the Dutchman into Holland, by the means of some Dutch ship which lay then in the road. William and I told them, we resolved to go and settle in the Morea, which then belonged to the Venetians.

It is true, we acted wisely in it, not to let them know whither we went, seeing we had resolved to separate; but we took our old doctor's directions how to write to him in Holland, and in England, that we might have intelligence from him on occasion, and promised to give him an account how to write to us, which we afterwards did, as may in time be made out.

We stayed here some time after they were gone, till at length, not being thoroughly resolved whither to go till then, a Venetian ship touched at Cyprus, and put in at Scanderoon to look for freight home. We took the hint, and, bargaining for our passage, and the freight of our goods, we embarked for Venice, where, in two-and-twenty days, we arrived safe with all our treasure, and with such a cargo, take our goods, and our money, and our jewels together, as, I believed, was never brought into the city by two single men, since the state of Venice had a being.

We kept ourselves here *incognito* for a great while, passing for two Armenian merchants still, as we had done before; and by this time we had gotten so much of the Persian and Armenian jargon, which they talked at Bassora and Bagdat, and everywhere that we came in the country, as was sufficient to make us able to talk to one another, so as not to be understood by anybody, though sometimes hardly by ourselves.

Here we converted all our effects into money, settled our abode as for a considerable time, and William and I, maintaining an inviolable friendship and fidelity to one another, lived like two brothers: we neither had or sought any separate interest; we conversed seriously and gravely, and upon the subject of our repentance continually; we never changed, that is to say, so as to leave off our Armenian garbs; and we were called, at Venice, the two Grecians.

I had been two or three times going to give a detail of our wealth; but it will appear incredible; and we had the greatest difficulty in the world how to conceal it, being justly apprehensive lest we might be assassinated in that country for our treasure. At length William told me, he began to think now that he must never see England any more, and that indeed he did not much concern himself about it; but seeing we had gained so great wealth, and having some poor relations in England, he said he would, if I was willing, write to know if they were living, and to know what condition they were in; and if he found such of them were alive as he had some thoughts about, he would, with my consent, send them something to better their condition.

I consented most willingly; and accordingly William wrote to a sister and an uncle, and in about five weeks'

time received an answer from them both, directed to himself, under cover of a hard Armenian name that he had given himself, viz., Seignior Constantine Alexion of Ispahan, at Venice.

It was a very moving letter he received from his sister, who, after the most passionate expressions of joy to hear he was alive, seeing she had long ago had an account that he was murdered by the pirates in the West Indies, entreats him to let her know what circumstances he was in; tells him she was not in any capacity to do anything considerable for him, but that he should be welcome to her with all her heart; that she was left a widow, with four children, but kept a little shop in the Minories, by which she made shift to maintain her family; and that she had sent him five pounds, lest he should want money, in a strange country, to bring him home.

I could see the letter brought tears out of his eyes, as he read it; and indeed, when he showed it me, and the little bill for five pounds, upon an English merchant in Venice, it brought tears out of my eyes too.

After we had been both affected sufficiently with the tenderness and kindness of this letter, he turns to me; says he, What shall I do for this poor woman? I mused awhile; at last, says I, I will tell you what you shall do for her: she has sent you five pounds, and she has four children, and herself, that is five: such a sum, from a poor woman in her circumstances, is as much as five thousand pounds is to us: you shall send her a bill of exchange for five thousand pounds English money, and bid her conceal her surprise at it till she hears from you again; but bid her leave off her shop, and go and take a house somewhere in the country, not far off from London, and stay there, in a moderate figure, till she hears from you again.

Now, says William, I perceive by it that you have some thoughts of venturing into England.

Indeed, William, said I, you mistake me; but it presently occurred to me that you should venture; for what have you done that you may not be seen there? Why should I desire to keep you from your relations, purely to keep me company?

William looked very affectionately upon me: Nay, says he, we have embarked together so long, and come together so far, I am resolved I will never part with thee as long as I

live, go where thou wilt, or stay where thou wilt; and as for my sister, said William, I cannot send her such a sum of money; for whose is all this money we have? It is most of it thine.

No, William, said I, there is not a penny of it mine but what is yours too; and I won't have anything but an equal share with you; and therefore you shall send it to her; if not, I will send it.

Why, says William, it will make the poor woman distracted; she will be so surprised, she will go out of her wits. Well, said I, William, you may do it prudently: send her a bill backed of a hundred pounds, and bid her expect more in a post or two, and that you will send her enough to live on without keeping shop; and then send her more.

Accordingly William sent her a very kind letter, with a bill upon a merchant in London for a hundred and sixty pounds, and bid her comfort herself with the hope that he should be able in a little time to send her more. About ten days after, he sent her another bill of five hundred and forty pounds; and a post or two after, another for three hundred pounds, making in all a thousand pounds; and told her he would send her sufficient to enable her to leave off her shop, and directed her to take a house as above.

He waited then till he received an answer to all the three letters, with an account that she had received the money, and, which I did not expect, that she had not let any other acquaintance know that she had received a shilling from anybody, or so much as that he was alive, and would not, till she heard again.

When he showed me this letter, Well, William, said I, this woman is fit to be trusted with life or anything: send her the rest of the five thousand pounds; and I'll venture to England with you, to this woman's house, whenever you will.

In a word, we sent her five thousand pounds in good bills; and she received them very punctually, and in a little time sent her brother word, that she had pretended to her uncle that she was sickly, and could not carry on the trade any longer; and that she had taken a large house about four miles from London, under pretence of letting lodgings for her livelihood, and, in short, intimated as if she understood

that he intended to come over to be *incognito*, assuring him he should be as retired as he pleased.

This was opening the very door for us that we thought had been effectually shut for this life; and, in a word, we resolved to venture, but to keep ourselves entirely concealed, both as to name and every other circumstance; and accordingly William sent his sister word, how kindly he took her prudent steps, and that she had guessed right, that he desired to be retired, and that he obliged her not to increase her figure, but live private, till she might perhaps see him.

He was going to send the letter away. Come, William, said I, you sha'n't send her an empty letter: tell her you have a friend coming with you, that must be as retired as yourself; and I'll send her five thousand pounds more.

So, in short, we made this poor woman's family rich; and yet, when it came to the point, my heart failed me, and I durst not venture; and for William, he would not stir without me; and so we stayed about two years after this, considering what we should do.

You may think, perhaps, that I was very prodigal of my ill-gotten goods, thus to load a stranger with my bounty, and give a gift like a prince to one that had been able to merit nothing of me, or indeed know me; but my condition ought to be considered in this case: though I had money to profusion, yet I was perfectly destitute of a friend in the world, to have the least obligation or assistance from, or knew not either where to dispose or trust anything I had while I lived, or whom to give it to if I died.

When I had reflected upon the manner of my getting of it, I was sometimes for giving it all to charitable uses, as a debt due to mankind, though I was a Roman Catholic, and not at all of the opinion that it would purchase me any repose to my soul; but I thought, as it was got by a general plunder, and which I could make no satisfaction for, it was due to the community, and I ought to distribute it for the general good. But still I was at a loss how, and where, and by whom, to settle this charity, not daring to go home to my own country, lest some of my comrades, strolled home, should see and detect me, and, for the very spoil of my money, or the purchase of his own pardon, betray and expose me to an untimely end.

Being thus destitute, I say, of a friend, I pitched thus upon William's sister; the kind step of her's to her brother, whom she thought to be in distress, signifying a generous mind, and a charitable disposition; and, having resolved to make her the object of my first bounty, I did not doubt but I should purchase something of a refuge for myself, and a kind of a centre, to which I should tend in my future actions; for really a man that has a subsistence, and no residence, no place that has a magnetic influence upon his affections, is in one of the most odd, uneasy conditions in the world; nor is it in the power of all his money to make it up to him.

It was, as I told you, two years and upwards that we remained at Venice, and thereabout, in the greatest hesitation imaginable, irresolute and unfixed to the last degree. William's sister importuned us daily to come to England, and wondered we should not dare to trust her, whom we had to such a degree obliged to be faithful; and, in a manner, lamented her being suspected by us.

At last I began to incline; and I said to William, Come, brother William, said I (for, ever since our discourse at Balsora, I called him brother), if you will agree to two or three things with me, I'll go home to England with all my heart.

Says William, Let me know what they are.

Why, first, says I, you shall not disclose yourself to any of your relations in England but your sister, no, not to one.

Secondly, We will not shave off our moustaches or beards (for we had all along worn our beards after the Grecian manner), nor leave off our long vests, that we may pass for Grecians and foreigners.

Thirdly, That we shall never speak English in public before anybody, your sister excepted.

Fourthly, That we will always live together, and for brothers.

William said, he would agree to them all with all his heart; but that the not speaking English would be the hardest; but he would do his best for that too: so, in a word, we agreed to go from Venice to Naples, where we converted a large sum of money into bales of silk, left a large sum in a merchant's hands at Venice, and another considerable sum at Naples, and took bills of exchange for a

great deal too; and yet we came with such a cargo to London as few Armenian merchants had done for some years; for we loaded in two ships seventy-three bales of thrown silk, besides thirteen bales of wrought silks, from the dutchy of Milan, shipped at Genoa; with all which I arrived safely, and some time after married my faithful protectress, William's sister, with whom I am much more happy than I deserve.

And now, having so plainly told you that I am come to England, after I have so boldly owned what life I have led abroad, it is time to leave off and say no more for the present, lest some should be willing to inquire too nicely after

Your old friend,

CAPTAIN BOB.

THE END

THE LIFE

OF

COLONEL JACK.

THE HISTORY

And Remarkable

LIFE

Of the truly Honourable

COLONEL JACQUE,

COMMONLY CALL'D

COLONEL JACK,

WHO WAS

Born a Gentleman, put 'Prentice to a Pick-Pocket, was Six-and-Twenty Years a Thief, and then Kidnapp'd to *VIRGINIA*.

Came back a Merchant; was Five times married to Four *Whores*; went into the *Wars*, behav'd bravely, got Preferment, was made Colonel of a Regiment, came over, and fled with the *Chevalier*, is still abroad compleating a Life of Wonders, and resolves to dye a GENERAL.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. Brotherton, at the *Royal Exchange*; T. Payne, near *Stationers'-Hall*; W. Mears, at the *Lamb*, and A. Dodd, at the *Peacock* without *Temple-Bar*; W. Chetwood, in *Covent-Garden*; J. Graves, in *St. James's-Street*; S. Chapman, in *Pall-Mall*, and J. Stagg, at *Westminster-Hall*. MDCCXXIII.

THE PREFACE.

PREFACES are so customary before books of this nature, to introduce them into the world by a display of their excellencies, that it might be thought too presuming to send this performance abroad, without some such preliminary. And yet I may venture to say, it needs this good office as little as any that has ever gone before it. The pleasant and delightful part speaks for itself; the useful and instructive is so large, and has such a tendency to improve the mind, and rectify the manners, that it would employ a volume, large as itself, to particularize the instructions that may be drawn from it.

Here is room for just and copious observations, on the blessings and advantages of a sober and well-governed education, and the ruin of so many thousands of all ranks in this nation for want of it; here, also, we may see how much public schools and charities might be improved to prevent the destruction of so many unhappy children, as, in this town, are every year bred up for the executioner.

The miserable condition of multitudes of youth, many of whose natural tempers are docible, and would lead them to learn the best things rather than the worst, is truly deplorable, and is abundantly seen in the history of this man's childhood; where, though circumstances formed him by necessity to be a thief, surprising rectitude of principles remained with him, and made him early abhor the worst part of his trade, and at length to forsake the whole of it. Had he come into the world with the advantage of a virtuous

education, and been instructed how to improve the generous principles he had in him, what a figure might he not have made, either as a man, or a Christian.

The various turns of his fortune in different scenes of life, make a delightful field for the reader to wander in; a garden where he may gather wholesome and medicinal fruits, none noxious or poisonous; where he will see virtue, and the ways of wisdom, everywhere applauded, honoured, encouraged, and rewarded; vice and extravagance attended with sorrow, and every kind of infelicity; and at last, sin and shame going together, the offender meeting with reproach and contempt, and the crimes with detestation and punishment.

Every vicious reader will here be encouraged to a change, and it will appear that the best and only good end of a impious misspent life is repentance; that in this, there is comfort, peace, and oftentimes hope, and that the penitent shall be received like the prodigal, *and his latter end be better than his beginning.*

A book founded on so useful a plan, calculated to answer such valuable purposes as have been specified, can require no apology: Nor is it of any concern to the reader, whether it be an exact historical relation of real facts, or whether the hero of it intended to present us, at least in part, with a moral romance. On either supposition, it is equally serviceable for the discouragement of vice and the recommendation of virtue.

DANIEL DE FOE.

THE LIFE

OF

COLONEL JACK.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—I AM DESERTED BY MY PARENTS ALMOST AS SOON AS BORN—NICKNAMED BY MY NURSE, COLONEL JACK—CHARACTERS OF THE THREE JACKS—COLONEL JACK, CAPTAIN JACK, AND MAJOR JACK—NURSE DIES, AND WE ARE TURNED LOOSE UPON THE WORLD—CAPTAIN JACK FLOGGED FOR ROGUERY—WE PICK POCKETS.

SEEING my life has been such a chequer-work of nature, and that I am able now to look back upon it from a safer distance, than is ordinarily the fate of the clan to which I once belonged; I think my history may find a place in the world, as well as some, which I see are every day read with pleasure, though they have in them nothing so diverting, or instructing, as I believe mine will appear to be.

My original may be as high as anybody's for aught I know, for my mother kept very good company, but that part belongs to her story, more than to mine; all I know of it is by oral tradition. My nurse told me my mother was a gentlewoman, that my father was a man of quality, and she (my nurse) had a good piece of money given her to take me off his hands, and deliver him and my mother from the importunities that usually attend the misfortune of having a child to keep, that should not be seen or heard of.

My father, it seems, gave my nurse something more than was agreed for, at my mother's request, upon her solemn promise, that she would use me well, and let me be put to school; and charged her, that if I lived to come to any bigness, capable to understand the meaning of it, she should always take care to bid me remember, that I was a gentleman; and this, he said, was all the education he would desire of her for me; for he did not doubt, he said, but that some time or other, the very hint would inspire me with thoughts suitable to my birth, and that I would certainly act like a gentleman, if I believed myself to be so.

But my disasters were not directed to an end as soon as they began. It is very seldom that the unfortunate are so but for a day; as the great rise by degrees of greatness to the pitch of glory, in which they shine, so the miserable sink to the depth of their misery by a continued series of disaster, and are long in the tortures and agonies of their distressed circumstances, before a turn of fortune, if ever such a thing happens to them, gives them a prospect of deliverance.

My nurse was as honest to the engagement she had entered into, as could be expected from one of her employment, and particularly as honest as her circumstances would give her leave to be; for she bred me up very carefully with her own son, and with another son of shame like me, whom she had taken upon the same terms.

My name was John, as she told me, but neither she or I, knew anything of a surname that belonged to me; so I was left to call myself Mr. Anything, what I pleased, as fortune and better circumstances should give occasion.

It happened that her own son (for she had a little boy of her own, about one year older than I) was called John too; and about two years after she took another son of shame, as I called it above, to keep as she did me, and his name was John too.

As we were all Johns, we were all Jacks, and soon came to be called so; for at that part of the town, where we had our breeding, viz., near Goodman's-fields, the Johns are generally called Jack; but my nurse, who may be allowed to distinguish her own son a little from the rest, would have him called Captain, because forsooth he was the eldest.

I was provoked at having this boy called captain, and I

cried, and told my nurse I would be called captain; for she told me I was a gentleman, and I would be a captain, that I would: the good woman, to keep the peace, told me, ay, ay, I was a gentleman, and therefore I should be above a captain, for I should be a colonel, and that was a great deal better than a captain; for, my dear, says she, every tarpawling, if he gets but to be lieutenant of a press smack, is called captain, but colonels are soldiers, and none but gentlemen are ever made colonels: besides, says she, I have known colonels come to be lords, and generals, though they were bastards at first, and therefore you shall be called colonel.

Well, I was hushed indeed with this for the present, but not thoroughly pleased, till a little while after I heard her tell her own boy, that I was a gentleman, and therefore he must call me colonel; at which her boy fell a-crying, and he would be called colonel. That part pleased me to the life, that he should cry to be called colonel, for then I was satisfied that it was above a captain: so universally is ambition seated in the minds of men, that not a beggar-boy but has his share of it.

So here was Colonel Jack, and Captain Jack; as for the third boy, he was only plain Jack for some years after, till he came to preferment by the merit of his birth, as you shall hear in its place.

We were hopeful boys all three of us, and promised very early, by many repeated circumstances of our lives, that we would all be rogues; and yet I cannot say, if what I have heard of my nurse's character be true, but the honest woman did what she could to prevent it.

Before I tell you much more of our story, it would be very proper to give you something of our several characters, as I have gathered them up in my memory, as far back as I can recover things, either of myself, or my brother Jacks, and they shall be brief and impartial.

Captain Jack was the eldest of us all, by a whole year He was a squat, big, strong made boy, and promised to be stout when grown up to be a man, but not to be tall. His temper was sly, sullen, reserved, malicious, revengeful; and withal, he was brutish, bloody, and cruel in his disposition; he was as to manners a mere boor, or clown, of a carman-like breed; sharp as a street-bred boy must be, but ignorant

and unteachable from a child. He had much the nature of a bull-dog, bold and desperate, but not generous at all; all the schoolmistresses we went to, could never make him learn, no, not so much as to make him know his letters; and as if he was born a thief, he would steal everything that came near him, even as soon almost as he could speak; and that, not from his mother only, but from anybody else, and from us too that were his brethren and companions. He was an original rogue, for he would do the foulest and most villanous things, even by his own inclination; he had no taste or sense of being honest, no, not, I say, to his brother rogues, which is what other thieves make a point of honour of; I mean that of being honest to one another.

The other, that is to say, the youngest of us Johns, was called Major Jack, by the accident following; the lady that had deposited him with our nurse, had owned to her that it was a major of the guards that was the father of the child; but that she was obliged to conceal his name, and that was enough. So he was at first called John the Major, and afterwards the Major, and at last, when we came to rove together, Major Jack, according to the rest, for his name was John, as I have observed already.

Major Jack was a merry, facetious, pleasant boy, had a good share of wit, especially off-hand wit, as they call it; was full of jests and good humour, and, as I often said, had something of a gentleman in him. He had a true manly courage, feared nothing, and could look death in the face, without any hesitation; and yet, if he had the advantage, was the most generous and most compassionate creature alive. He had native principles of gallantry in him, without anything of the brutal or terrible part that the captain had; and in a word, he wanted nothing but honesty to have made him an excellent man. He had learned to read, as I had done; and as he talked very well, so he wrote good sense, and very handsome language, as you will see in the process of his story.

As for your humble servant, Colonel Jack, he was a poor unhappy tractable dog, willing enough, and capable too, to learn anything, if he had had any but the devil for his schoolmaster: he set out into the world so early, that when he began to do evil, he understood nothing of the wickedness of it, nor what he had to expect for it. I remember very

well that when I was once carried before a justice, for a theft which indeed I was not guilty of, and defended myself by argument, proving the mistakes of my accusers, and how they contradicted themselves; the justice told me it was a pity I had not been better employed, for I was certainly better taught; in which, however, his worship was mistaken, for I had never been taught anything but to be a thief; except, as I said, to read and write, and that was all, before I was ten years old; but I had a natural talent of talking, and could say as much to the purpose as most people that had been taught much more than I.

I passed among my comrades for a bold resolute boy, and one that durst fight anything; but I had a different opinion of myself, and therefore shunned fighting as much as I could, though sometimes I ventured too, and came off well, being very strong made, and nimble withal. However, I many times brought myself off with my tongue, where my hands would not be sufficient; and this, as well after I was a man, as while I was a boy.

I was wary and dexterous at my trade, and was not so often catched as my fellow rogues, I mean while I was a boy, and never after I came to be a man, no, not once for twenty-six years, being so old in the trade, and still unhanged, as you shall hear.

As for my person, while I was a dirty glass-bottle-house boy, sleeping in the ashes, and dealing always in the street dirt, it cannot be expected but that I looked like what I was, and so we did all; that is to say, like a black your shoes your honour, a beggar-boy, a blackguard-boy, or what you please, despicable, and miserable, to the last degree; and yet I remember, the people would say of me, that boy has a good face: if he was washed and well dressed, he would be a good pretty boy; do but look what eyes he has, what a pleasant smiling countenance: it is a pity! I wonder what the rogue's father and mother was, and the like: then they would call me, and ask me my name, and I would tell them my name was Jack. But what's your surname, sirrah? says they: I don't know, says I. Who is your father and mother? I have none, said I. What, and never had you any? said they: No, says I, not that I know of. Then they would shake their heads, and cry, Poor boy! and 'tis a pity,

and the like; and so let me go. But I laid up all these things in my heart.

I was almost ten years old, the captain eleven, and the major about eight, when the good woman my nurse died. Her husband was a seaman, and had been drowned a little before in the Gloucester frigate, one of the king's ships which was cast away going to Scotland with the duke of York, in the time of king Charles II. and the honest woman dying very poor, the parish was obliged to bury her; when the three young Jacks attended her corpse, and I the colonel (for we all passed for her own children) was chief mourner, the captain, who was the eldest son, going back very sick.

The good woman being dead, we, the three Jacks, were turned loose to the world. As to the parish providing for us, we did not trouble ourselves much about that; we rambled about all three together, and the people in Rosemary-lane and Ratcliff, and that way, knowing us pretty well, we got victuals easily enough, and without much begging.

For my particular part, I got some reputation, for a mighty civil honest boy! for if I was sent of an errand, I always did it punctually and carefully, and made haste again; and if I was trusted with anything, I never touched it to diminish it, but made it a point of honour to be punctual to whatever was committed to me, though I was as arrant a thief as any of them in all other cases.

In like case, some of the poorer shopkeepers would often leave me at their door, to look after their shops, till they went up to dinner, or till they went over the way to an ale-house, and the like, and I always did it freely and cheerfully, and with the utmost honesty.

Captain Jack, on the contrary, a surly, ill-looking rough boy, had not a word in his mouth that savoured either of good manners, or good humour; he would say Yes, and No, just as he was asked a question, and that was all, but nobody got anything from him that was obliging in the least. If he was sent of an errand he would forget half of it, and it may be go to play, if he met any boys, and never go at all, or if he went, never come back with an answer; which was such a regardless, disobliging way, that nobody had a good word for him, and everybody said he had the very look of a rogue, and would come to be hanged. In a word, he got nothing

of anybody for good will, but was as it were obliged to turn thief, for the mere necessity of bread to eat; for if he begged he did it with so ill a tone, rather like bidding folks give him victuals than entreating them; that one man, of whom he had something given, and knew him, told him one day, Captain Jack, says he, thou art but an awkward, ugly sort of a beggar, now thou art a boy; I doubt thou wilt be fitter to ask a man for his purse, than for a penny, when thou comest to be a man.

The major was a merry thoughtless fellow, always cheerful: whether he had any victuals or no, he never complained; and he recommended himself so well by his good carriage, that the neighbours loved him, and he got victuals enough one where or other. Thus we all made shift, though we were so little, to keep from starving; and as for lodging, we lay in the summer-time about the watchhouses, and on bulkheads, and shop-doors, where we were known; as for a bed, we knew nothing what belonged to it for many years after my nurse died; and in winter we got into the ash-holes, and nealing-arches in the glass-house, called Dallow's Glass-house in Rosemary-lane, or at another glass-house in Ratcliff-highway.

In this manner we lived for some years; and here we failed not to fall among a gang of naked, ragged rogues like ourselves, wicked as the devil could desire to have them be at so early an age, and ripe for all the other parts of mischief that suited them as they advanced in years.

I remember that one cold winter night we were disturbed in our rest with a constable and his watch, crying out for one Wry-neck, who it seems had done some roguery, and required a hue and cry of that kind; and the watch were informed he was to be found among the beggar-boys under the nealing-arches in the glass-house.

The alarm being given, we were awakened in the dead of the night, with, Come out here, ye crew of young devils, come out and show yourselves; so we were all produced: some came out rubbing their eyes, and scratching their heads, and others were dragged out; and I think there was about seventeen of us in all, but Wry-neck, as they called him, was not among them. It seems this was a good big boy, that used to be among the inhabitants of that place, and had been concerned in a robbery the night before, in

which his comrade, who was taken, in hopes of escaping punishment, had discovered him, and informed where he usually harboured; but he was aware, it seems, and had secured himself, at least for that time. So we were allowed to return to our warm apartment among the coal-ashes where I slept many a cold winter night; nay, I may say, many a winter, as sound, and as comfortably as ever I did since, though in better lodgings.

In this manner of living we went on a good while, I believe two years, and neither did, or meant any harm. We generally went all three together; for, in short, the captain, for want of address, and for something disagreeable in him, would have starved if we had not kept him with us. As we were always together, we were generally known by the name of the three Jacks; but Colonel Jack had always the preference, upon many accounts. The major, as I have said, was merry and pleasant, but the colonel always held talk with the better sort, I mean the better sort of those that would converse with a beggar-boy. In this way of talk, I was always upon the inquiry, asking questions of things done in public, as well as in private; particularly, I loved to talk with seamen and soldiers about the war, and about the great seafights, or battles on shore, that any of them had been in; and, as I never forgot anything they told me, I could soon, that is to say, in a few years, give almost as good an account of the Dutch war, and of the fights at sea, the battles in Flanders, the taking of Maestricht, and the like, as any of those that had been there; and this made those old soldiers and tars love to talk with me too, and to tell me all the stories they could think of, and that not only of the wars then going on, but also of the wars in Oliver's time, the death of king Charles I. and the like.

By this means, as young as I was, I was a kind of an historian; and though I had read no books, and never had any books to read, yet I could give a tolerable account of what had been done, and of what was then a-doing in the world, especially in those things that our own people were concerned in. I knew the names of every ship in the navy, and who commanded them too, and all this before I was fourteen years old, or but very soon after.

Captain Jack in this time fell into bad company, and went away from us, and it was a good while before we ever heard

tale or tidings of him, till about half a year I think, or thereabouts, I understood he was got among a gang of kidnappers, as they were then called, being a sort of wicked fellows that used to spirit people's children away; that is, snatch them up in the dark, and, stopping their mouths, carry them to houses where they had rogues ready to receive them, and so carry them on board of ships bound to Virginia, and sell them.

This was a trade that horrid Jack, for so I called him when we were grown up, was very fit for, especially the violent part; for if a little child got into his clutches, he would stop the breath of it, instead of stopping its mouth, and never troubled his head with the child's being almost strangled, so he did but keep it from making a noise. There was, it seems, some villanous thing done by this gang about that time, whether a child was murdered among them, or a child otherwise abused; but it seems it was a child of an eminent citizen, and the parent some how or other got a scent af the thing, so that they recovered their child, though in a sad condition, and almost killed. I was too young, and it was too long ago, for me to remember the whole story, but they were all taken up and sent to Newgate, and Captain Jack among the rest, though he was but young, for he was not then much above thirteen years old.

What punishment was inflicted upon the rogues of that gang I cannot tell now, but the captain being but a lad, was ordered to be three times soundly whipt at Bridewell; my lord mayor, or the recorder, telling him, it was done in pity to him, to keep him from the gallows, not forgetting to tell him, that he had a hanging look, and bid him have a care on that very account; so remarkable was the captain's countenance, even so young, and which he heard of afterwards on many occasions. When he was in Bridewell, I heard of his misfortune, and the major and I went to see him, for this was the first news we heard of what became of him.

The very day that we went, he was called out to be corrected, as they called it, according to his sentence; and as it was ordered to be done soundly, so indeed they were true to the sentence; for the alderman, who was the president of Bridewell, and who I think they called Sir William Turner, held preaching to him about how young he was, and what pity it was such a youth should come to

be hanged, and a great deal more, how he should take warning by it, and how wicked a thing it was, that they should steal away poor innocent children, and the like; and all this while the man with a blue badge on lashed him most unmercifully, for he was not to leave off till Sir William knocked with a little hammer on the table.

The poor captain stamped and danced, and roared out like a mad boy; and I must confess, I was frighted almost to death; for though I could not come near enough, being but a poor boy, to see how he was handled, yet I saw him afterwards, with his back all wealed with the lashes, and in several places bloody, and thought I should have died with the sight of it; but I grew better acquainted with those things afterwards.

I did what I could to comfort the poor captain, when I got leave to come to him. But the worst was not over with him, for he was to have two more such whippings before they had done with him; and indeed they scourged him so severely, that they made him sick of the kidnapping trade for a great while; but he fell in among them again, and kept among them as long as that trade lasted, for it ceased in a few years afterwards.

The major and I, though very young, had sensible impressions made upon us for some time by the severe usage of the captain, and it might be very well said, we were corrected as well as he, though not concerned in the crime; but it was within the year that the major, a good-conditioned easy boy, was wheedled away by a couple of young rogues that frequented the glass-house apartments, to take a walk with them, as they were pleased to call it; the gentlemen were very well matched, the major was about twelve years old, and the oldest of the two that led him out was not above fourteen: the business was to go to Bartholomew fair—was, in short, to pick pockets.

The major knew nothing of the trade, and therefore was to do nothing; but they promised him a share for all that, as if he had been as expert as themselves; so away they went. The two dexterous young rogues managed it so well, that by eight o'clock at night, they came back to our dusty quarters at the glass-house, and, sitting them down in a corner, they began to share their spoil, by the light of the glass-house fire. The major lugged out the goods, for, as

fast as they made any purchase, they unloaded themselves, and gave all to him, that, if they had been taken, nothing might be found about them.

It was a devilish lucky day to them, the devil certainly assisting them to find their prey, that he might draw in a young gamester, and encourage him to the undertaking, who had been made backward before by the misfortune of the captain. The list of their purchase the first night was as follows:

1. A white handkerchief from a country wench, as she was starting up at a jack-pudding; there was 3*s.* 6*d.* and a row of pins tied up in one end of it.

2. A coloured hankerchief, out of a young country fellow's pocket as he was buying a china orange.

3. A riband purse with 11*s.* 3*d.* and a silver thimble in it, out of a young woman's pocket, just as a fellow offered to pick her up.

N.B. She missed her purse presently, but, not seeing the thief, charged the man with it that would have picked her up, and cried out, "A pickpocket!" and he fell into the hands of the mob, but, being known in the street, he got off with great difficulty.

4. A knife and fork, that a couple of boys had just bought, and were going home with; the young rogue that took it got it within the minute after the boy had put it in his pocket.

5. A little silver box with 7*s.* in it, all in small silver, 1*d.*, 2*d.*, 3*d.*, 4*d.* pieces.

N.B. This it seems a maid pulled out of her pocket, to pay at her going into the booth to see a show, and the little rogue got his hand in and fetched it off, just as she put it up again.

6. Another silk handkerchief, out of a gentleman's pocket.

7. Another.

8. A jointed baby, and a little looking-glass, stolen off a toyseller's stall in the fair.

All this cargo to be brought home clear in one afternoon, or evening rather, and by only two little rogues so young, was, it must be confessed, extraordinary; and the major was elevated the next day to a strange degree.

He came very early to me, who lay not far from him, and said to me, Colonel Jack, I want to speak with you. Well,

said I, what do you say? Nay, said he, it is business of consequence, I cannot talk here; so we walked out. As soon as we were come out into a narrow lane, by the glass-house, Look here, says he, and pulls out his little hand almost full of money.

I was surprised at the sight, when he puts it up again, and, bringing his hand out, Here, says he, you shall have some of it; and gives me a sixpence, and a shilling's worth of the small silver pieces. This was very welcome to me, who, as much as I was of a gentleman, and as much as I thought of myself upon that account, never had a shilling of money together before in all my life, not that I could call my own.

I was very earnest then to know how he came by this wealth, for he had for his share 7*s.* 6*d.* in money, the silver thimble, and a silk handkerchief, which was, in short, an estate to him, that never had, as I said of myself, a shilling together in his life.

And what will you do with it now, Jack? said I. I do? says he; the first thing I do I'll go into Rag Fair, and buy me a pair of shoes and stockings. That's right, says I, and so will I too; so away we went together, and we bought each of us a pair of Rag Fair stockings in the first place for fivepence, not fivepence a pair, but fivepence together, and good stockings they were too, much above our wear, I assure you.

We found it more difficult to fit ourselves with shoes; but at last, having looked a great while before we could find any good enough for us, we found a shop very well stored, and of these we bought two pair for sixteen-pence.

We put them on immediately to our great comfort, for we had neither of us had any stockings to our legs that had any feet to them for a long time: I found myself so refreshed with having a pair of warm stockings on, and a pair of dry shoes,—things, I say, which I had not been acquainted with a great while, that I began to call to my mind my being a gentleman, and now I thought it began to come to pass. When we had thus fitted ourselves, I said, Hark ye, Major Jack, you and I never had any money in our lives before, and we never had a good dinner in all our lives: what if we should go somewhere and get some victuals? I am very hungry.

So we will then, says the major, I am hungry too; so we went to a boiling cook's in Rosemary-lane, where we treated ourselves nobly, and, as I thought with myself, we began to live like gentlemen, for we had three-pennyworth of boiled beef, two-pennyworth of pudding, a penny brick (as they call it, or loaf), and a whole pint of strong beer, which was seven-pence in all.

N.B. We had each of us a good mess of charming beef-broth into the bargain; and, which cheered my heart wonderfully, all the while we were at dinner, the maid and the boy in the house every time they passed by the open box where we sat at our dinner, would look in and cry, Gentlemen, do you call? and, Do ye call, gentlemen? I say this was as good to me as all my dinner.

Not the best housekeeper in Stepney parish, not my lord mayor of London, no, not the greatest man on earth could be more happy in their own imagination, and with less mixture of grief or reflection, than I was at this new piece of felicity; though mine was but a small part of it, for Major Jack had an estate compared to me, as I had an estate compared to what I had before: in a word, nothing but an utter ignorance of greater felicity, which was my case, could make anybody think himself so exalted as I did, though I had no share of this booty but eighteen-pence.

That night the major and I triumphed in our new enjoyment, and slept with an undisturbed repose in the usual place, surrounded with the warmth of the glass-house fires above, which was a full amends for all the ashes and cinders which we rolled in below.

Those who know the position of the glass-houses, and the arches where they neal the bottles after they are made, know that those places where the ashes are cast, and where the poor boys lie, are cavities in the brick-work, perfectly close, except at the entrance, and consequently warm as the dressing-room of a bagnio, that it is impossible they can feel any cold there, were it in Greenland, or Nova Zembla, and that therefore the boys lie there not only safe, but very comfortably, the ashes excepted, which are no grievance at all to them.

The next day the major and his comrades went abroad again, and were still successful; nor did any disaster attend them, for I know not how many months; and, by frequent

imitation and direction, Major Jack became as dexterous a pickpocket as any of them, and went on through a long variety of fortunes, too long to enter upon now, because I am hastening to my own story, which at present is the main thing I have to set down.

The major failed not to let me see every day the effects of his new prosperity, and was so bountiful, as frequently to throw me a tester, sometimes a shilling; and I might perceive that he began to have clothes on his back, to leave the ash-hole, having gotten a society lodging (of which I may give an explanation by itself on another occasion), and which was more, he took upon him to wear a shirt, which was what neither he or I had ventured to do for three years before, and upward.

But I observed all this while, that though Major Jack was so prosperous and had thriven so well, and notwithstanding he was very kind, and even generous to me, in giving me money upon many occasions, yet he never invited me to enter myself into the society, or to embark with him, whereby I might have been made as happy as he, no, nor did he recommend the employment to me at all.

I was not very well pleased with his being thus reserved to me; I had learned from him in general, that the business was picking of pockets, and I fancied, that though the ingenuity of the trade consisted very much in sleight of hand, a good address, and being very nimble, yet that it was not at all difficult to learn; and, especially, I thought the opportunities were so many, the country people that come to London so foolish, so gaping, and so engaged in looking about them, that it was a trade with no great hazard annexed to it, and might be easily learned, if I did but know in general the manner of it, and how they went about it.

CHAPTER II.

I GET ACQUAINTED WITH ONE OF THE MOST NOTED PICK-POCKETS IN TOWN—WE STEAL A LETTER-CASE FULL OF BILLS—DREADFULLY DISTRESSED HOW TO DISPOSE OF MY SHARE OF THE BOOTY—MY COMRADE PROPOSES I SHALL RETURN THE BILLS AND GET THE REWARD PROMISED—PROCEEDINGS THEREUPON.

THE subtle devil, never absent from his business, but ready at all occasions to encourage his servants, removed all these difficulties, and brought him into an intimacy with one of the most exquisite divers, or pickpockets, in the town; and this, our intimacy, was of no less a kind, than that, as I had an inclination to be as wicked as any of them, he was for taking care that I should not be disappointed.

He was above the little fellows who went about stealing trifles and baubles in Bartholomew fair, and run the risk of being mobbed for three or four shillings. His aim was at higher things, even at no less than considerable sums of money, and bills for more.

He solicited me earnestly to go and take a walk with him as above, adding, that after he had shewn me my trade a little, he would let me be as wicked as I would; that is, as he expressed it, that after he had made me capable, I should set up for myself, if I pleased, and he would only wish me good luck.

Accordingly, as Major Jack went with his gentleman, only to see the manner, and receive the purchase, and yet come in for a share; so he told me, if he had success, I should have my share as much as if I had been principal; and this he assured me was a custom of the trade, in order to encourage young beginners, and bring them into the trade with courage, for that nothing was to be done if a man had not the heart of the lion.

I hesitated at the matter a great while, objecting the hazard, and telling the story of Captain Jack, my elder brother, as I might call him. Well, colonel, says he, I find you are faint-hearted, and to be faint-hearted is indeed to be unfit for our trade, for nothing but a bold heart can go

through stitch with this work; but, however, as there is nothing for you to do, so there is no risk for you to run in these things the first time. If I am taken, says he, you having nothing to do in it, they will let you go free; for it shall easily be made appear, that whatever I have done, you had no hand in it.

Upon those persuasions I ventured out with him; but I soon found that my new friend was a thief of quality, and a pickpocket above the ordinary rank, and that aimed higher abundantly than my brother Jack. He was a bigger boy than I a great deal; for though I was now near fifteen years old, I was not big of my age, and as to the nature of the thing, I was perfectly a stranger to it. I knew indeed what at first I did not, for it was a good while before I understood the thing as an offence. I looked on picking pockets as a trade, and thought I was to go apprentice to it. It is true, this was when I was young in the society, as well as younger in years, but even now I understood it to be only a thing for which, if we were catched, we run the risk of being ducked or pumped, which we call soaking, and then all was over; and we made nothing of having our rags wetted a little; but I never understood, till a great while after, that the crime was capital, and that we might be sent to Newgate for it, till a great fellow, almost a man, one of our society, was hanged for it; and then I was terribly frighted, as you shall hear by and by.

Well, upon the persuasions of this lad, I walked out with him; a poor innocent boy, and (as I remember my very thoughts perfectly well) I had no evil in my intentions; I had never stolen anything in my life; and if a goldsmith had left me in his shop, with heaps of money strewed all round me, and bade me look after it, I should not have touched it, I was so honest; but the subtle tempter baited his hook for me, as I was a child, in a manner suitable to my childishness, for I never took this picking of pockets to be dishonesty, but, as I have said above, I looked on it as a kind of trade that I was to be bred up to, and so I entered upon it, till I became hardened in it beyond the power of retreating; and thus I was made a thief involuntarily, and went on a length that few boys do, without coming to the common period of that kind of life, I mean to the transport-ship, or to the gallows.

The first day I went abroad with my new instructor, he

carried me directly into the city, and as we went first to the water side, he led me into the long-room at the custom-house; we were but a couple of ragged boys at best, but I was much the worse; my leader had a hat on, a shirt, and a neckcloth; as for me, I had neither of the three, nor had I spoiled my manners so much as to have a hat on my head since my nurse died, which was now some years. His orders to me were to keep always in sight, and near him, but not close to him, nor to take any notice of him at any time till he came to me; and if any hurlyburly happened, I should by no means know him, or pretend to have anything to do with him.

I observed my orders to a tittle. While he peered into every corner, and had his eye upon everybody, I kept my eye directly upon him, but went always at a distance, and on the other side of the long-room, looking as it were for pins, and picking them up out of the dust as I could find them, and then sticking them on my sleeve, where I had at last got forty or fifty good pins; but still my eye was upon my comrade, who, I observed, was very busy among the crowds of people that stood at the board, doing business with the officers, who pass the entries, and make the cocquets, &c.

At length he comes over to me, and stooping as if he would take up a pin close to me, he put something into my hand, and said, Put that up, and follow me down stairs quickly; he did not run, but shuffled along apace through the crowd, and went down, not the great stairs which we came in at, but a little narrow staircase at the other end of the long room; I followed, and he found I did, and so went on, not stopping below as I expected, nor speaking one word to me, till through innumerable narrow passages, alleys, and dark ways, we were got up into Fenchurch-street, and through Billiter-lane into Leadenhall-street, and from thence into Leadenhall-market.

It was not a meat-market day, so we had room to sit down upon one of the butchers' stalls, and he bid me lug out. What he had given me was a little leather letter-case, with a French almanack stuck in the inside of it, and a great many papers in it of several kinds.

We looked them over, and found there was several valuable bills in it, such as bills of exchange, and other notes, things I did not understand; but among the rest was a goldsmith's note, as he called it, of one Sir Stephen Evans, for

300*l.*, payable to the bearer, and at demand; besides this, there was another note for 12*l.* 10*s.*, being a goldsmith's bill too, but I forget the name; there was a bill or two also written in French, which neither of us understood, but which it seems were things of value, being called foreign bills accepted.

The rogue, my master, knew what belonged to the goldsmith's bills well enough, and I observed, when he read the bill of Sir Stephen, he said, this is too big for me to meddle with; but when he came to the bill 12*l.* 10*s.*, he said to me, This will do, come hither, Jack; so away he runs to Lombard-street, and I after him, huddling the other papers into the letter-case. As he went along, he inquired the name out immediately, and went directly to the shop, put on a good grave countenance, and had the money paid him without any stop or question asked; I stood on the other side the way looking about the street, as not at all concerned with anybody that way, but observed, that when he presented the bill, he pulled out the letter-case, as if he had been a merchant's boy, acquainted with business, and had other bills about him.

They paid him the money in gold, and he made haste enough in telling it over, and came away, passing by me, and going into Three-King-court, on the other side of the way; then we crossed back into Clement's-lane, made the best of our way to Cole-harbour, at the water side, and got a sculler for a penny to carry us over the water to St. Mary-Over's stairs, where we landed, and were safe enough.

Here he turns to me; Colonel Jack, says he, I believe you are a lucky boy, this is a good job; we'll go away to St. George's Fields and share our booty. Away we went to the Fields, and sitting down in the grass, far enough out of the path, he pulled out the money; Look here Jack, says he, did you ever see the like before in your life? No, never, says I, and added very innocently, must we have it all? We have it! says he, who should have it? Why, says I, must the man have none of it again that lost it? He have it again; says he, what d'ye mean by that? Nay, I don't know, says I; why you said just now you would let him have the t'other bill again; that you said was too big for you.

He laughed at me; You are but a little boy, says he that's true, but I thought you had not been such a child neither; so he mighty gravely explained the thing to me

thus: that the bill of Sir Stephen Evans was a great bill for 300*l.*, and if I, says he, that am but a poor lad, should venture to go for the money, they will presently say, how should I come by such a bill, and that I certainly found it or stole it; so they will stop me, says he, and take it away from me, and it may bring me into trouble for it too; so, says he, I did say it was too big for me to meddle with, and that I would let the man have it again, if I could tell how; but for the money, Jack, the money that we have got, I warrant you he should have none of that; besides, says he, whoever he be that has lost this letter-case, to be sure, as soon as he missed it, he would run to the goldsmith and give notice, that if anybody came for the money, they would be stopped; but I am too old for him there, says he.

Why, says I, and what will you do with the bill; will you throw it away? if you do, somebody else will find it, says I, and they will go and take the money: No, no, says he, then they will be stopped and examined, as I tell you I should be. I did not know well what all this meant, so I talked no more about that; but we fell to handling the money. As for me, I had never seen so much together in all my life, nor did I know what in the world to do with it, and once or twice I was going to bid him keep it for me, which would have been done like a child indeed, for, to be sure, I had never heard a word more of it, though nothing had befallen him.

However, as I happened to hold my tongue as to that part, he shared the money very honestly with me; only at the end, he told me, that though it was true, he promised me half, yet as it was the first time, and I had done nothing but look on, so he thought it was very well if I took a little less then he did; so he divided the money, which was 12*l.* 10*s.*, into two exact parts, viz., 6*l.* 5*s.*, in each part; then he took 1*l.* 5*s.*, from my part, and told me I should give him that for hansel. Well, says I, take it then, for I think you deserve it all: so, however, I took up the rest; and what shall I do with this now, says I, for I have nowhere to put it? Why, have you no pockets? says he; Yes, says I, but they are full of holes. I have often thought since that, and with some mirth too, how I had really more wealth than I knew what to do with, for lodging I had none, nor any box or drawer to hide my money in, nor had I any

pocket, but such as I say was full of holes; I knew nobody in the world that I could go and desire them to lay it up for me; for being a poor naked, ragged boy, they would presently say, I had robbed somebody, and perhaps lay hold of me, and my money would be my crime, as they say it often is in foreign countries; and now, as I was full of wealth, behold I was full of care, for what to do to secure my money I could not tell; and this held me so long, and was so vexatious to me the next day, that I truly sat down and cried.

Nothing could be more perplexing than this money was to me all that night. I carried it in my hand a good while, for it was in gold, all but 14*s.*; and that is to say, it was in four guineas, and that 14*s.*, was more difficult to carry than the four guineas; at last I sat down, and pulled off one of my shoes, and put the four guineas into that; but after I had gone a while, my shoe hurt me so I could not go, so I was fain to sit down again, and take it out of my shoe, and carry it in my hand; then I found a dirty linen rag in the street, and I took that up, and wrapt it all together, and carried it in that a good way. I have often since heard people say, when they have been talking of money; that they could not get in, I wish I had it in a foul clout: in truth, I had mine in a foul clout; for it was foul, according to the letter of that saying, but it served me till I came to a convenient place, and then I sat down and washed the cloth in the kennel, and so then put my money in again.

Well, I carried it home with me to my lodging in the glass-house, and when I went to go to sleep, I knew not what to do with it; if I had let any of the black crew I was with know of it, I should have been smothered in the ashes for it, or robbed of it, or some trick or other put upon me for it; so I knew not what to do, but lay with it in my hand, and my hand in my bosom, but then sleep went from my eyes: O, the weight of human care! I, a poor beggar-boy, could not sleep so soon as I had but a little money to keep, who, before that could have slept upon a heap of brick-bats, stones, or cinders, or anywhere, as sound as a rich man does on his down bed, and sounder too.

Every now and then dropping asleep, I should dream that my money was lost, and start like one frighted; then, finding it fast in my hand, try to go to sleep again, but could not for

a long while, then drop and start again. At last a fancy came into my head that if I fell asleep, I should dream of the money, and talk of it in my sleep, and tell that I had money, which if I should do, and one of the rogues should hear me, they would pick it out of my bosom, and of my hand too, without waking me; and after that thought I could not sleep a wink more; so that I passed that night over in care and anxiety enough; and this, I may safely say, was the first night's rest that I lost by the cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches.

As soon as it was day, I got out of the hole we lay in, and rambled abroad in the fields towards Stepney, and there I mused and considered what I should do with this money, and many a time I wished that I had not had it; for, after all my ruminating upon it, and what course I should take with it, or where I should put it, I could not hit upon any one thing, or any possible method to secure it, and it perplexed me so, that at last, as I said just now, I sat down and cried heartily.

When my crying was over, the case was the same; I had the money still, and what to do with it I could not tell. At last it came into my head, that I would look out for some hole in a tree, and see to hide it there till I should have occasion for it. Big with this discovery, as I then thought it, I began to look about me for a tree; but there were no trees in the fields about Stepney or Mile-end, that looked fit for my purpose; and if there were any, that I began to look narrowly at, the fields were so full of people, that they would see if I went to hide anything there, and I thought the people eyed me as it were, and that two men in particular followed me to see what I intended to do.

This drove me farther off, and I crossed the road at Mile-end, and in the middle of the town went down a lane that goes away to the Blind Beggar's at Bednal-green; when I came a little way in the lane, I found a footpath over the fields, and in those fields several trees for my turn, as I thought; at last, one tree had a little hole in it, pretty high out of my reach, and I climbed up the tree to get it, and when I came there, I put my hand in, and found (as I thought) a place very fit, so I placed my treasure there, and was mighty well satisfied with it; but, behold, putting my

hand in again to lay it more commodiously, as I thought, of a sudden it slipped away from me, and I found the tree was hollow, and my little parcel was fallen in quite out of my reach, and how far it might go in I knew not; so that, in a word, my money was quite gone, irrecoverably lost; there could be no room so much as to hope ever to see it again, for 'twas a vast great tree.

As young as I was, I was now sensible what a fool I was before, that I could not think of ways to keep my money, but I must come thus far to throw it into a hole where I could not reach it. Well, I thrust my hand quite up to my elbow, but no bottom was to be found, or any end of the hole or cavity; I got a stick of the tree, and thrust it in a great way, but all was one; then I cried, nay, roared out, I was in such a passion; then I got down the tree again, then up again, and thrust in my hand again till I scratched my arm and made it bleed, and cried all the while most violently; then I began to think I had not so much as a half-penny of it left for a half-penny roll, and I was hungry, and then I cried again; then I came away in despair, crying and roaring like a little boy that had been whipped; then I went back again to the tree, and up the tree again, and thus I did several times.

The last time I had gotten up the tree I happened to come down not on the same side that I went up and came down before, but on the other side of the tree, and on the other side of the bank also; and, behold, the tree had a great open place, in the side of it close to the ground, as old hollow trees often have; and looking into the open place, to my inexpressible joy, there lay my money and my linen rag, all wrapped up just as I had put it into the hole; for the tree being hollow all the way up, there had been some moss or light stuff (which I had not judgment enough to know), was not firm, and had given way when it came to drop out of my hand, and so it had slipped quite down at once.

I was but a child, and I rejoiced like a child, for I hollo'd quite out aloud when I saw it; then I run to it, and snatched it up, hugged and kissed the dirty rag a hundred times; then danced and jumped about, run from one end of the field to the other, and, in short, I knew not what, much less do I know now what I did, though I shall

never forget the thing, either what a sinking grief it was to my heart, when I thought I had lost it, or what a flood of joy overwhelmed me when I had got it again.

While I was in the first transport of my joy, as I have said, I run about, and knew not what I did; but when that was over I sat down, opened the foul clout the money was in, looked at it, told it, found it was all there, and then I fell a-crying as savourly as I did before, when I thought I had lost it.

It would tire the reader should I dwell on all the little boyish tricks that I played in the ecstacy of my joy and satisfaction, when I had found my money; so I break off here. Joy is as extravagant as grief, and since I have been a man I have often thought, that had such a thing befallen a man, so to have lost all he had, and not have a bit of bread to eat, and then so strangely to find it again, after having given it so effectually over,—I say, had it been so with a man, it might have hazarded his using some violence upon himself.

Well, I came away with my money, and, having taken sixpence out of it, before I made it up again, I went to a chandler's shop in Mile-end, and bought a half-penny roll and a halfpenny-worth of cheese, and sat down at the door after I bought it, and eat it very heartily, and begged some beer to drink with it, which the good woman gave me very freely.

Away I went then for the town, to see if I could find any of my companions, and resolved I would try no more hollow trees for my treasure. As I came along Whitechapel, I came by a broker's shop, over against the church, where they sold old clothes, for I had nothing on but the worst of rags; so I stopped at the shop, and stood looking at the clothes which hung at the door.

Well, young gentleman, says a man that stood at the door, you look wishfully; do you see anything you like, and will your pocket compass a good coat now, for you look as if you belonged to the ragged regiment? I was affronted at the fellow. What's that to you, says I, how ragged I am? if I had seen anything I liked, I have money to pay for it; but I can go where I shan't be huffed at for looking.

While I said thus, pretty boldly to the fellow, comes a woman out, What ails you, says she to the man, to bully away our customers so? a poor boy's money is as good as

my lord mayor's; if poor people did not buy old clothes, what wonld become of our business? and, then turning to me, Come hither, child, says she, if thou hast a mind to anything I have, you shan't be hectored by him; the boy is a pretty boy, I assure you, says she, to another woman that was by this time come to her. Ay, says the t'other, so he is, a very well-looking child, if he was clean and well dressed, and may be as good a gentleman's son for anything we know, as any of those that are well dressed. Come, my dear, says she, tell me what is it you would have? She pleased me mightily to hear her talk of my being a gentleman's son, and it brought former things to my mind; but when she talk'd of my being not clean, and in rags, then I cried.

She pressed me to tell her if I saw anything that I wanted; I told her no, all the clothes I saw there were too big for me. Come, child, says she, I have two things here that will fit you, and I am sure you want them both; that is, first, a little hat, and there, says she (tossing it to me), I'll give you that for nothing; and here is a good warm pair of breeches; I dare say, says she, they will fit you, and they are very tight and good; and, says she, if you should ever come to have so much money that you don't know what to do with it, here are excellent good pockets, says she, and a little fob to put your gold in, or your watch in, when you get it.

It struck me with a strange kind of joy that I should have a place to put my money in, and need not go to hide it again in a hollow tree; that I was ready to snatch the breeches out of her hands, and wondered that I should be such a fool never to think of buying me a pair of breeches before, that I might have a pocket to put my money in, and not carry it about two days together in my hand, and in my shoe, and I knew not how; so, in a word, I gave her two shillings for the breeches, and went over into the churchyard, and put them on, put my money into my new pockets, and was as pleased as a prince is with his coach and six horses. I thanked the good woman too for the hat, and told her I would come again when I got more money, and buy some other things I wanted; and so I came away.

I was but a boy 'tis true, but I thought myself a man, now I had got a pocket to put my money in, and I went

directly to find out my companion, by whose means I got it; but I was frighted out of my wits when I heard that he was carried to Bridewell; I made no question but it was for the letter-case, and that I should be carried there too; and then my poor brother Captain Jack's case came into my head, and that I should be whipped there as cruelly as he was, and I was in such a fright, that I knew not what to do.

But in the afternoon I met him; he had been carried to Bridewell, it seems, upon that very affair, but was got out again. The case was thus: having had such good luck at the custom-house the day before, he takes his walk thither again, and as he was in the long-room, gaping and staring about him, a fellow lays hold of him, and calls to one of the clerks that sat behind, Here, says he, is the same young rogue that I told you I saw loitering about t'other day, when the gentleman lost his letter-case, and his goldsmith's bills; I dare say it was he that stole them. Immediately the whole crowd of people gathered about the boy, and charged him point blank; but he was too well used to such things to be frighted into a confession of what he knew they could not prove, for he had nothing about him belonging to it, nor had any money, but sixpence and a few dirty farthings.

They threatened him, and pulled, and hauled him, till they almost pulled the clothes off his back, and the commissioners examined him; but all was one, he would own nothing, but said, he walked up through the room, only to see the place, both then, and the time before, for he had owned he was there before, so as there was no proof against him of any fact, no, nor of any circumstances relating to the letter-case, they were forced at last to let him go; however, they made a show of carrying him to Bridewell, and they did carry him to the gate to see if they could make him confess anything; but he would confess nothing, and they had no *mittimus;* so they durst carry him into the house, nor would the people have received him, I suppose, if they had, they having no warrant for putting him in prison.

Well, when they could get nothing out of him, they carried him into an alehouse, and there they told him, that the letter-case had bills in it of a very great value, that they would be of no use to the rogue that had them, but they would be of infinite damage to the gentleman that had lost them; and that he had left word with the clerk, who the

man that stopped this boy had called to, and who was there with him, that he would give 30*l.* to any one that would bring them again, and give all the security that conld be desired, that he would give them no trouble, whoever it was.

He was just come from out of their hands, when I met with him, and so he told me all the story; but, says he, I would confess nothing, and so I got off, and am come away clear. Well, says I, and what will you do with the letter-case, and the bills, will not you let the poor man have his bills again? No, not I, says he, I won't trust them, what care I for their bills? It came into my head, as young as I was, that it was a sad thing indeed to take a man's bills away for so much money, and not have any advantage by it either; for I concluded, that the gentleman, who owned the bills, must lose all the money, and it was strange he should keep the bills, and make a gentleman lose so much money for nothing. I remember that I ruminated very much about it, and, though I did not understand it very well, yet it lay upon my mind, and I said every now and then to him, Do let the gentleman have his bills again, do, pray do; and so I teazed him, with do, and pray do, till at last I cried about them. He said, What, would you have me be found out and sent to Bridewell, and be whipped, as your brother Captain Jack was? I said, No, I would not have you whipped, but I would have the man have his bills, for they will do you no good, but the gentleman will be undone, it may be; and then, I added again, Do let him have them. He snapped me short, Why, says he, how shall I get them to him? Who dare carry them? I dare not, to be sure, for they will stop me, and bring the goldsmith to see if he does not know me, and that I received the money, and so they will prove the robbery, and I shall be hanged; would you have me be hanged, Jack?

I was silenced a good while with that, for when he said, would you have me be hanged, Jack? I had no more to say; but one day after this, he called to me, Colonel Jack, says he, I have thought of a way how the gentleman shall have his bills again; and you and I shall get a good deal of money by it, if you will be honest to me, as I was to you. Indeed, says I, Robin, that was his name, I will be very honest; let me know how it is, for I would fain have him have his bills.

Why, says he, they told me that he had left word at the clerk's place in the long-room, that he would give 30*l.* to any one that had the bills, and would restore them, and would ask no questions. Now, if you will go, like a poor innocent boy, as you are, into the long-room, and speak to the clerk, it may do; tell him, if the gentleman will do as he promised, you believe you can tell him who has it; and if they are civil to you, and willing to be as good as their words, you shall have the letter-case, and give it them.

I told him, Ay, I would go with all my heart. But, Colonel Jack, says he, what if they should take hold of you, and threaten to have you whipped, won't you discover me to them? No, says I, if they would whip me to death I won't. Well, then, says he, there's the letter-case, do you go. So he gave me directions how to act, and what to say; but I would not take the letter-case with me, lest they should prove false, and take hold of me, thinking to find it upon me, and so charge me with the fact; so I left it with him, and the next morning I went to the custom-house, as was agreed; what my directions were, will, to avoid repetition, appear in what happened; it was an errand of too much consequence indeed to be entrusted to a boy, not only so young as I was, but so little of a rogue as I was yet arrived to the degree of.

Two things I was particularly armed with, which I resolved upon: 1. That the man should have his bills again; for it seemed a horrible thing to me that he should be made to lose his money, which I supposed he must, purely because we would not carry the letter-case home. 2. That whatever happened to me, I was never to tell the name of my comrade Robin, who had been the principal. With these two pieces of honesty, for such they were both in themselves, and with a manly heart, though a boy's head, I went up into the long-room in the custom-house the next day.

As soon as I came to the place where the thing was done, I saw the man sit just where he had sat before, and it run in my head that he had sat there ever since; but I knew no better; so I went up, and stood just at that side of the writing-board, that goes upon that side of the room, and which I was but just tall enough to lay my arms upon.

While I stood there, one thrust me this way, and another thrust me that way, and the man that sat behind began to

look at me; at last he called out to me; What does that boy do there? get you gone. sirrah; are you one of the rogues that stole the gentleman's letter-case on Monday last? Then he turns his tale to a gentleman that was doing business with him, and goes on thus: Here was Mr. —— had a very unlucky chance on Monday last, did not you hear of it? No, not I, says the gentleman. Why, standing just there, where you do, says he, making his entries, he pulled out his letter-case, and laid it down, as he says, but just at his hand, while he reached over to the standish there for a penful of ink, and somebody stole away his letter-case.

His letter-case! says t'other, what, and was there any bills in it?

Ay, says he, there was Sir Stephen Evans's note in it for 300*l.*, and another goldsmith's bill for about 12*l.*, and which is worse still for the gentleman, he had two foreign accepted bills in it for a great sum, I know not how much, I think one was a French bill for 1200 crowns.

And who could it be? says the gentleman.

Nobody knows, says he, but one of our room-keepers says, he saw a couple of young rogues like that, pointing at me, hanging about here, and that on a sudden they were both gone.

Villains! says he again; why, what can they do with them, they will be of no use to them? I suppose he went immediately, and gave notice to prevent the payment.

Yes, says the clerk, he did; but the rogues were too nimble for him with the little bill of 12*l.* odd money; they went and got the money for that, but all the rest are stopped; however, 'tis an unspeakable damage to him for want of his money.

Why, he should publish a reward for the encouragement of those that have them to bring them again; they would be glad to bring them, I warrant you.

He has posted it up at the door, that he will give 30*l.* for them.

Ay, but he should add, that he will promise not to stop, or give any trouble to the person that brings them.

He has done that too, says he, but I fear they won't trust themselves to be honest, for fear he should break his word.

Why? it is true, he may break his word in that case, but no man should do so; for then no rogue will venture to

bring home anything that is stolen, and so he would do an injury to others after him.

I durst pawn my life for him, he would scorn it.

CHAPTER III.

I AM EXAMINED BY THE GENTLEMAN TOUCHING THE BILLS AND LETTER-CASE, AND OBTAIN THE REWARD OF 30*l.*—ONE OF THEM KINDLY TAKES CHARGE OF THE MONEY FOR ME—WE COMMIT MORE THEFTS—MY COMRADE PURCHASES BETTER CLOTHES FOR ME—I ROB A JEW OF HIS POCKET-BOOK FULL OF BILLS AND DIAMONDS—WILL AGREES FOR A REWARD TO GIVE UP THE PROPERTY.

THUS far they discoursed of it, and then went off to something else. I heard it all, but did not know what to do a great while; but at last, watching the gentleman that went away, when he was gone, I run after him to have spoken to him, intending to have broke it to him, but he went hastily into a room or two, full of people, at the hither end of the long-room; and when I went to follow, the doorkeepers turned me back, and told me, I must not go in there; so I went back, and loitered about, near the man that sat behind the board, and hung about there till I found the clock struck twelve, and the room began to be thin of people; and at last he sat there writing, but nobody stood at the board before him, as there had all the rest of the morning; then I came a little nearer, and stood close to the board, as I did before; when, looking up from his paper, and seeing me, says he to me, You have been up and down there all this morning, sirrah, what do you want? you have some business that is not very good, I doubt.

No, I han't, said I.

No? it is well if you han't, says he; pray what business can you have in the long-room, sir; you are no merchant?

I would speak with you, said I.

With me, says he, what have you to say to me?

I have something to say, said I, if you will do me no harm for it.

I do thee harm, child, what harm should I do thee? and spoke very kindly.

Won't you indeed, sir? said I.

No, not I, child; I'll do thee no harm; what is it? do you know anything of the gentleman's letter-case?

I answered, but spoke softly, that he could not hear me: so he gets over presently into the seat next him, and opens a place that was made to come out, and bade me come in to him; and I did.

Then he asked me again, if I knew anything of the letter-case.

I spoke softly again, and said, Folks would hear him.

Then he whispered softly, and asked me again.

I told him, I believed I did; but that, indeed I had it not, nor had no hand in stealing it, but it was gotten into the hands of a boy that would have burnt it, if it had not been for me; and that I heard him say, that the gentleman would be glad to have them again, and give a good deal of money for them.

I did say so, child, said he, and if you can get them for him, he shall give you a good reward, no less than 30*l.* as he has promised.

But you said too, sir, to the gentleman just now, said I, that you was sure he would not bring them into any harm, that should bring them.

No, you shall come to no harm; I will pass my word for it.

Boy. Nor shan't they make me bring other people into trouble?

Gent. No, you shall not be asked the name of anybody, nor to tell who they are.

Boy. I am but a poor boy, and I would fain have the gentleman have his bills, and indeed I did not take them away, nor I han't got them.

Gent. But can you tell how the gentleman shall have them?

Boy. If I can get them, I will bring them to you to-morrow morning.

Gent. Can you not do it to-night?

Boy. I believe I may if I knew where to come.

Gent. Come to my house, child.

Boy. I don't know where you live.

Gent. Go along with me now, and you shall see. So he carried me up into Tower-street, and showed me his house, and ordered me to come there at five o'clock at night; which accordingly I did, and carried the letter-case with me.

When I came, the gentleman asked me it I had brought the book, as he called it.

It is not a book, said I.

No, the letter-case, that's all one, says he.

You promised me, said I, you would not hurt me, and cried.

Don't be afraid, child, says he, I will not hurt thee, poor boy; nobody shall hurt thee.

Here it is, said I, and pulled it out.

He then brought in another gentleman, who it seems owned the letter-case, and asked him, If that was it? and he said, Yes.

Then he asked me if all the bills were in it?

I told him, I heard him say there was one gone, but I believed there was all the rest.

Why do you believe so? says he.

Because I heard the boy that I believe stole them, say, they were too big for him to meddle with.

The gentleman, then, that owned them, said, Where is the boy?

Then the other gentleman put in, and said, No, you must not ask him that; I passed my word that you should not, and that he should not be obliged to tell it to anybody.

Well, child, says he, you will let us see the letter-case opened, and whether the bills are in it?

Yes, says I.

Then the first gentleman said, How many bills were there in it?

Only three, says he, besides the bill of 12*l.* 10*s.*; there was Sir Stephen Evans's note for 300*l.* and two foreign bills.

Well, then, if they are in the letter-case, the boy shall have 30*l.*, shall he not? Yes, says the gentleman, he shall have it freely.

Come then, child, says he, let me open it.

So I gave it him, and he opened it, and there were all three bills, and several other papers, fair and safe, nothing defaced or diminished, and the gentleman said, All is right.

Then said the first man, Then I am security to the poor boy for the money. Well, but, says the gentleman, the rogues have got the 12*l.* 10*s.*; they ought to reckon that as part of the 30*l.* Had he asked me, I should have consented to it at first word; but the first man stood my friend. Nay, says he, it was since you knew that the 12*l.* 10*s.* was received that you offered 30*l.* for the other bills, and published it by the crier, and posted it up at the custom-house door, and I promised him the 30*l.* this morning. They argued long, and I thought would have quarrelled about it.

However, at last they both yielded a little, and the gentleman gave me 25*l.* in good guineas. When he gave it me, he bade me hold out my hand, and he told the money into my hand; and when he had done, he asked me if it was right? I said, I did not know, but I believed it was: Why, says he, can't you tell it? I told him, No; I never saw so much money in my life, nor I did not know how to tell money. Why, says he, don't you know that they are guineas? No, I told him, I did not know how much a guinea was.

Why, then, says he, did you tell me you believed it was right? I told him, Because I believed he would not give it me wrong.

Poor child, says he, thou knowest little of the world, indeed; what art thou?

I am a poor boy, says I, and cried.

What is your name? says he—but hold, I forgot, said he; I promised I would not ask your name, so you need not tell me.

My name is Jack, said I.

Why, have you no surname, said he?

What is that? said I.

You have some other name besides Jack, says he, han't you.

Yes, says I, they call me Colonel Jack.

But have you no other name?

No, said I.

How came you to be called Colonel Jack, pray?

They say, said I, my father's name was Colonel.

Is your father or mother alive? said he.

No, said I, my father is dead.

Where is your mother then? said he.

I never had e'er a mother, said I.

This made him laugh. What, said he, had you never a mother, what then?

I had a nurse, said I, but she was not my mother.

Well, says he to the gentleman, I dare say this boy was not the thief that stole your bills.

Indeed, sir, I did not steal them, said I, and cried again.

No, no, child, said he, we don't believe you did. This is a very clever boy, says he, to the other gentleman, and yet very ignorant and honest; 'tis pity some care should not be taken of him, and something done for him; let us talk a little more with him. So they sat down and drank wine, and gave me some, and then the first gentleman talked to me again.

Well, says he, what wilt thou do with this money now thou hast it?

I don't know, said I.

Where will you put it? said he.

In my pocket, said I.

In your pocket, said he; is your pocket whole? shan't you lose it?

Yes, said I, my pocket is whole.

And where will you put it, when you get home?

I have no home, said I; and cried again.

Poor child! said he, then what dost thou do for thy living?

I go of errands, said I, for the folks in Rosemary-lane.

And what dost thou do for a lodging at night?

I lie at the glass-house, said I, at night.

How, lie at the glass-house! have they any beds there? says he.

I never lay in a bed in my life, said I, as I remember.

Why, says he, what do you lie on at the glass-house?

The ground, says I, and sometimes a little straw, or upon the warm ashes.

Here the gentleman that lost the bills, said, This poor child is enough to make a man weep for the miseries of human nature, and be thankful for himself; he puts tears into my eyes. And into mine too, says the other.

Well, but hark ye, Jack, says the first gentleman, do they give you no money when they send you of errands?

They give me victuals, said I, and that's better.

But what, says he, do you do for clothes?

They give me sometimes old things, said I, such as they have to spare.

Why, you have never a shirt on, I believe, said he, have you?

No, I never had a shirt, said I, since my nurse died.

How long ago is that? said he.

Six winters, when this is out, said I.

Why, how old are you? said he.

I can't tell, said I.

Well, says the gentleman, now you have this money, won't you buy some clothes, and a shirt with some of it?

Yes, said I, I would buy some clothes.

And what will you do with the rest?

I can't tell, said I, and cried.

What do'st cry for, Jack? said he.

I am afraid, said I; and cried still.

What art afraid of?

They will know I have money.

Well, and what then?

Then I must sleep no more in the warm glass-house, and I shall be starved with cold. They will take away my money.

But why must you sleep there no more?

Here the gentlemen observed to one another how naturally anxiety and perplexity attend those that have money. I warrant you, says the clerk, when this poor boy had no money, he slept all night in the straw, or on the warm ashes in the glass-house, as soundly and as void of care as it would be possible for any creature to do; but now, as soon as he has gotten money, the care of preserving it brings tears into his eyes, and fear into his heart.

They asked me a great many questions more, to which I answered in my childish way as well as I could, but so as pleased them well enough; at last I was going away with a heavy pocket, and I assure you not a light heart, for I was so frighted with having so much money that I knew not what in the earth to do with myself: I went away, however, and walked a little way, but I could not tell what to do; so, after rambling two hours or thereabout, I went back again, and sat down at the gentleman's door, and there I cried as long as I had any moisture in my head to make tears of, but never knocked at the door.

I had not sat long, I suppose, but somebody belonging to the family got knowledge of it, and a maid came and talked to me, but I said little to her, only cried still; at length it came to the gentleman's ears. As for the merchant, he was gone. When the gentleman heard of me, he called me in, and began to talk with me again, and asked me what stayed for?

I told him I had not stayed there all that while, for I had been gone a great while, and was come again.

Well, says he, but what did you come again for?

I can't tell, says I.

And what do you cry so for, said he? I hope you have not lost your money, have you?

No, I told him, I had not lost it yet, but I was afraid I should.

And does that make you cry? says he.

I told him, Yes, for I knew I should not be able to keep it, but they would cheat me of it, or they would kill me, and take it away from me too.

They, says he, who? what sort of gangs of people art thou with?

I told him they were all boys, but very wicked boys; thieves and pickpockets, said I, such as stole this letter-case, a sad pack, I can't abide them.

Well, Jack, said he, what shall be done for thee? Will you leave it with me, shall I keep it for you?

Yes, said I, with all my heart, if you please.

Come, then, says he, give it me; and that you may be sure that I have it, and you shall have it honestly again, I'll give you a bill for it, and for the interest of it, and that you may keep safe enough. Nay, added he, and if you lose it, or anybody takes it from you, none shall receive the money but yourself, or any part of it.

I presently pulled out all the money, and gave it to him, only keeping about 15*s.* for myself to buy some clothes; and thus ended the conference between us on the first occasion, at least for the first time. Having thus secured my money to my full satisfaction, I was then perfectly easy, and accordingly the sad thoughts that affiicted my mind before, began to vanish away.

This was enough to let any one see how all the sorrows and anxieties of men's lives come about; how they rise from

their restless pushing at getting of money, and the restless cares of keeping it when they have got it. I that had nothing, and had not known what it was to have had anything, knew nothing of the care, either of getting, or of keeping it; I wanted nothing, who wanted everything; I had no care, no concern about where I should get my victuals, or how I should lodge; I knew not what money was, or what to do with it; and never knew what it was not to sleep till I had money to keep, and was afraid of losing it.

I had, without doubt, an opportunity at this time, if I had not been too foolish, and too much a child to speak for myself; I had an opportunity, I say, to have got into his service, or perhaps to be under some of the care and concern of these gentlemen; for they seemed to be very fond of doing something for me, and were surprised at the innocence of my talk to them, as well as at the misery (as they thought it) of my condition.

But I acted indeed like a child; and leaving my money, as I have said, I never went near them for several years after. What course I took, and what befel me in that interval, has so much variety in it, and carries so much instruction in it, that it requires an account of it by itself.

The first happy chance that offered itself to me in the world was now over; I had got money, but I neither knew the value of it, nor the use of it; the way of living I had begun was so natural to me, I had no notion of bettering it; I had not so much as any desire of buying me any clothes, no, not so much as a shirt, and much less had I any thought of getting any other lodging than that in the glass-house, and loitering about the streets, as I had done; for I knew no good, and had tasted no evil; that is to say, the life I had led being not evil in my account.

In this state of innocence I returned to my really miserable life, so it was in itself, and was only not so to me, because I did not understand how to judge of it, and had known no better.

My comrade that gave me back the bills, and who, if I had not pressed him, designed never to have restored them, never asked me what I had given me, but told me, if they gave me anything it should be my own; for, as he said, he would not run the venture of being seen in the restoring them, I deserved the reward if there was any; neither did

he trouble his head with inquiring what I had, or whether I had anything or no; so my title to what I had got was clear.

I went now up and down just as I did before; I had money indeed in my pocket, but I let nobody know it; I went of errands cheerfully as before, and accepted of what anybody gave me, with as much thankfulness as ever; the only difference that I made with myself, was, that if I was hungry, and nobody employed me, or gave me anything to eat, I did not beg from door to door, as I did at first, but went to a boiling-house, as I said once before, and got a mess of broth and a piece of bread, price a halfpenny; very seldom any meat, or if I treated myself, it was a halfpenny-worth of cheese; all which expense did not amount to above twopence or threepence a week; for, contrary to the usage of the rest of the tribe, I was extremely frugal, and I had not disposed of any of the guineas which I had at first; neither, as I said to the custom-house gentleman, could I tell what a guinea was made of, or what it was worth.

After I had been about a month thus, and had done nothing, my comrade, as I called him, came to me one morning; Colonel Jack, says he, when shall you and I take a walk again? When you will, said I. Have you got no business yet? says he. No, says I; and so one thing bringing in another, he told me I was a fortunate wretch, and he believed I would be so again; but that he must make a new bargain with me now; for, says he, Colonel, the first time, we always let a raw brother come in for full share to encourage him, but afterwards, except it be when he puts himself forward well, and runs equal hazard, he stands to courtesy; but as we are gentlemen, we always do very honourable by one another; and if you are willing to trust it, or leave it to me, I shall do handsomely by you, that you may depend upon. I told him, I was not able to do anything, that was certain, for I did not understand it, and therefore I could not expect to get anything, but I would do as he bade me; so we walked abroad together.

We went no more to the custom-house, it was too bold a venture; besides, I did not care to show myself again, especially with him in company; but we went directly to the Exchange, and we hankered about in Castle-alley, and in Swithin's-alley, and at the coffee-house doors. It was a very unlucky day, for we got nothing all day but two or

three handkerchiefs, and came home to the old lodgings at the glass-house; nor had I anything to eat or drink all day, but a piece of bread which he gave me, and some water at the conduit at the Exchange-gate. So when he was gone from me, for he did not lie in the glass-house as I did, I went to my old broth-house for my usual bait, and refreshed myself, and the next day early went to meet him again, as he appointed me.

Being early in the morning, he took his walk to Billingsgate, where it seems two sorts of people make a great crowd as soon as it is light, and at that time a-year, rather before daylight; that is to say, crimps, and the masters of coal ships, who they call collier-masters; and, secondly, fishmongers, fish-sellers, and buyers of fish.

It was the first of these people that he had his eye upon. So he gives me my orders, which was thus: Go you, says he, into all the alehouses, as we go along, and observe where any people are telling of money; and when you find any, come and tell me. So he stood at the door, and I went into the houses. As the collier-masters generally sell their coals at the gate, as they call it, so they generally receive their money in those alehouses; and it was not long before I brought him word of several. Upon this he went in, and made his observations, but found nothing to his purpose; at length I brought him word, that there was a man in such a house who had received a great deal of money of somebody, I believed of several people, and that it lay all upon the table in heaps, and he was very busy writing down the sums, and putting it up in several bags. Is he? say he, I'll warrant him I will have some of it; and in he goes. He walks up and down the house, which had several open tables and boxes in it, and he listened to hear, if he could, what the man's name was; and he heard somebody call him Cullum, or some such name. Then he watches his opportunity, and steps up to him, and tells him a long story, that there were two gentlemen at the Gun tavern, sent him to inquire for him, and to tell him they desired to speak with him.

The collier-master had his money lying before him, just as I had told him, and had two or three small payments of money, which he had put up in little black dirty bags, and lay by themselves; and as it was hardly broad day, he

found means, in delivering his message, to lay his hand upon one of those bags, and carry it off perfectly undiscovered.

When he had got it, he came out to me, who stood but at the door; and pulling me by the sleeve, Run, Jack, says he, for our lives; and away he scours, and I after him, never resting, or scarce looking about me, till we got quite up into Fenchurch-street, through Lime-street, into Leadenhall-street, down St. Mary-Axe, to London-wall, then through Bishopsgate-street, and down Old Bedlam into Moorfields. By this time we were neither of us able to run very fast, nor need we have gone so far, for I never found that anybody pursued us. When we got into Moorfields, and began to take breath, I asked him, what it was frighted him so? Fright me, you fool, says he, I have got a devilish great bag of money. A bag! said I; Ay, ay, said he, let us get out into the fields where nobody can see us, and I'll show it you. So away he had me through Long-alley, and cross Hog-lane, and Holloway-lane, into the middle of the great field, which, since that, has been called the Farthing Pie-house Fields. There we would have sat down, but it was all full of water; so we went on, crossed the road at Anniseed Cleer, and went into the field where now the great hospital stands; and finding a bye place, we sat down, and he pulls out the bag. Thou art a lucky boy, Jack, says he, thou deservest a good share of this job truly, for it is all along of thy lucky news. So he pours it all out into my hat, for, as I told you, I now wore a hat.

How he did to whip away such a bag of money from any man that was awake and in his senses, I cannot tell; but there was a great deal in it, and among it a paper-full by itself. When the paper dropt out of the bag, Hold, says he, that is gold! and began to crow and hollow like a mad boy. But there he was baulked, for it was a paper of old thirteenpence-halfpenny pieces, half and quarter pieces, with ninepences, and fourpence-halfpennies, all old crooked money, Scotch and Irish coin; so he was disappointed in that; but as it was, there was about 17*l.* or 18*l.* in the bag, as I understood by him; for I could not tell money, not I.

Well, he parted this money into three; that is to say, into three shares, two for himself, and one for me, and asked, If I was content? I told him, Yes, I had reason to be contented; besides, it was so much money added to that

I had left of his former adventure, that I knew not what to do with it, or with myself, while I had so much about me.

This was a most exquisite fellow for a thief; for he had the greatest dexterity at conveying anything away, that he scarce ever pitched upon anything in his eye, but he carried it off with his hands, and never, that I know of, missed his aim, or was caught in the fact.

He was an eminent pickpocket, and very dexterous at ladies gold watches; but he generally pushed higher, at such desperate things as these; and he came off the cleanest, and with the greatest success imaginable; and it was in these kinds of the wicked art of thieving that I became his scholar.

As we were now so rich, he would not let me lie any longer in the glass-house, or go naked and ragged, as I had done; but obliged me to buy two shirts, a waistcoat, and a great coat; for a great coat was more for our purpose in the business we were upon than any other. So I clothed myself as he directed, and he took me a lodging in the same house with him, and we lodged together in a little garret fit for our quality.

Soon after this we walked out again, and then we tried our fortune in the places by the Exchange a second time. Here we began to act separately, and I undertook to walk by myself; and the first thing I did accurately, was a trick I played that required some skill for a new beginner, for I had never seen any business of that kind done before. I saw two gentlemen mighty eager in talk, and one pulled out a pocket-book two or three times, and then slipt it into his coat-pocket again, and then out it came again, and papers were taken out, and others were put in; and then in it went again, and so several times; the man being still warmly engaged with another man, and two or three other standing hard by them. The last time he put his pocket-book into his pocket, he might be said to throw it in, rather than put it in with his hand, and the book lay end-way, resting upon some other book, or something else in his pocket; so that it did not go quite down, but one corner of it was seen above his pocket.

This careless way of men putting their pocket-books into a coat-pocket, which is so easily dived into by the least boy that has been used to the trade, can never be too much

blamed; the gentlemen are in great hurries, their heads and thoughts entirely taken up, and it is impossible they should be guarded enough against such little hawk's-eyed creatures as we were; and, therefore, they ought either never to put their pocket-books up at all, or to put them up more secure, or to put nothing of value into them. I happened to be just opposite to this gentleman in that they call Swithin's-alley; or that alley rather which is between Swithin's-alley and the Exchange, just by a passage that goes out of the alley into the Exchange; when seeing the book pass and repass into the pocket, and out of the pocket as above, it came immediately into my head, certainly I might get that pocket-book out if I were nimble, and I warrant Will would have it, if he saw it go and come to and again as I did; but when I saw it hang by the way, as I have said; now it is mine, said I to myself, and, crossing the alley, I brushed smoothly, but closely, by the man, with my hand down flat to my own side, and, taking hold of it by the corner that appeared, the book came so light into my hand, it was impossible the gentleman should feel the least motion, or anybody else see me take it away. I went directly forward into the broad place on the north side of the Exchange, then scoured down Bartholomew-lane, so into Tokenhouse-yard, into the alleys which pass through from thence to London-wall, so through Moorgate, and sat down on the grass in the second of the quarters of Moorfields, towards the middle field; which was the place that Will and I had appointed to meet at if either of us got any booty. When I came thither, Will was not come, but I saw him a coming in about half an hour.

As soon as Will came to me, I asked him what booty he had gotten? He looked pale, and, as I thought, frighted; but he returned, I have got nothing, not I; but, you lucky young dog, says he, what have you got? Have not you got the gentleman's pocket-book in Swithin's-alley? Yes, says I, and laughed at him; why, how did you know it? Know it! says he, why the gentleman is raving and half distracted; he stamps and cries, and tears his very clothes; he says he is utterly undone and ruined, and the folks in the alley say there is I know not how many thousand pounds in it; what can be in it? says Will; come, let us see.

Well, we lay close in the grass in the middle of the quarter, so that nobody minded us; and so we opened the pocket-book, and there was a great many bills and notes under men's hands; some goldsmiths', and some belonging to insurance offices, as they call them, and the like; but that which was it seems worth all the rest was that in one of the folds of the cover of the book, where there was a case with several partitions, there was a paper full of loose diamonds. The man, as we understood afterward, was a Jew, who dealt in such goods, and who indeed ought to have taken more care of the keeping of them.

Now was this booty too great, even for Will himself, to manage; for though by this time I was come to understand things better than I did formerly, when I knew not what belonged to money; yet Will was better skilled by far in those things than I. But this puzzled him too, as well as me. Now were we something like the cock in the fable; for all these bills, and I think there was one bill of Sir Henry Furness's for 1200*l.*, and all these diamonds, which were worth about 150*l.*, as they said; I say, all these things were of no value to us, one little purse of gold would have been better to us than all of it. But come, says Will, let us look over the bills for a little one.

We looked over all the bills, and, among them, we found a bill under a man's hand for 32*l.*; Come, says Will, let us go and inquire where this man lives. So he went into the city again, and Will went to the post-house, and asked there; they told him he lived at Temple-bar: Well, says Will, I will venture, I'll go and receive the money; it may be he has not remembered to send to stop the payment there.

But it came into his thoughts to take another course; Come, says Will, I'll go back to the alley, and see if I can hear anything of what has happened, for I believe the hurry is not over yet. It seems the man, who lost the book, was carried into the King's-head tavern, at the end of that alley, and a great crowd was about the door.

Away goes Will, and watches and waits about the place; and then, seeing several people together, for they were not all dispersed, he asks one or two what was the matter; they tell him a long story of a gentleman who had lost his pocket-book, with a great bag of diamonds in it, and bills for a great

many thousand pounds, and I know not what; and that they had been just crying it, and had offered 100*l.* reward to any one who would discover and restore it.

I wish, said he, to one of them that parleyed with him, I did but know who has it, I don't doubt but I could help him to it again; does he remember nothing of anybody, boy, or fellow, that was near him? if he could but describe him, it might do. Somebody that overheard him was so forward to assist the poor gentleman, that they went up and let him know what a youug fellow, meaning Will, had been talking at the door; and down comes another gentleman from him, and, taking Will aside, asked him what he had said about it? Will was a grave sort of a young man, that, though he was an old soldier at the trade, had yet nothing of it in his countenance; and he answered, that he was concerned in business where a great many of the gangs of little pick-pockets haunted, and if he had but the least description of the person they suspected, he durst say he could find him out, and might perhaps get the things again for him. Upon this, he desired him to go up with him to the gentleman, which he did accordingly; and there, he said, he sat leaning his head back to the chair, pale as a cloth; disconsolate to a strange degree, and, as Will described him, just like one under a sentence.

When they came to ask him, whether he had seen no boy, or shabby fellow, lurking near where he stood, or passing, or repassing, and the like, he answered, No, not any; neither could he remember that anybody had come near him. Then, said Will, it will be very hard, if not impossible, to find them out. However, said Will, if you think it worth while, I will put myself among those rogues, though, says he, I care not for being seen among them; but I will put in among them, and if it be in any of those gangs, it is ten to one but I shall hear something of it.

They asked him then, if he had heard what terms the gentleman had offered to have it restored; he answered, No (though he had been told at the door); they answered, He had offered 100*l.* That is too much, says Will; but if you please to leave it to me, I shall either get it for you for less than that, or not be able to get it for you at all. Then the losing gentleman said to one of the other, Tell him, that if he can get it lower, the overplus shall be to himself. William

said, He would be very glad to do the gentleman such a service, and would leave the reward to himself. Well, young man, says one of the gentlemen, whatever you appoint to the young artist that has done this roguery (for I warrant he is an artist, let it be who it will), he shall be paid, if it be within the 100*l.*, and the gentleman is willing to give you 50*l.* besides for your pains.

Truly, sir, says Will, very gravely, it was by mere chance, that, coming by the door, and seeing the crowd, I asked what the matter was? but if I should be instrumental to get the unfortunate gentleman his pocket-book, and the things in it again, I shall be very glad; nor am I so rich neither, sir, but 50*l.* is very well worth my while too. Then he took directions who to come to, and who to give his account to if he learned anything, and the like.

CHAPTER IV.

WILL RETURNS THE POCKET-BOOK AND OBTAINS THE REWARD—WE ROB AN OLD KNIGHT IN SMITHFIELD OF A BAG OF MONEY—OTHER ADVENTURES, IN ALL OF WHICH WE ARE SUCCESSFUL—THE NOTION OF MY BEING A GENTLEMAN, WHICH I ALWAYS ENTERTAIN, KEEPS ME FROM SWEARING, DRINKING, AND SUCH LIKE VICES—WILL SEDUCES ME TO BECOME HIGHWAYMAN—ADVENTURES ON THE ROAD.

Will stayed so long, that, as he and I agreed, I went home, and he did not come to me till night; for we had considered before, that it would not be proper to come from them directly to me, lest they should follow him and apprehend me. If he had made no advances towards a treaty, he would have come back in half an hour, as we agreed; but staying late, we met at our night rendezvous, which was in Rosemary-lane.

When he came, he gave an account of all the discourse, and particularly what a consternation the gentleman was in who lost the pocket-book, and that he did not doubt but we should get a good round sum for the recovery of it.

We consulted all the evening about it, and concluded he should let them hear nothing of them the next day at all;

and that the third day he should go, but should make no discovery, only that he had got a scent of it, and that he believed he should have it, and make it appear as difficult as possible, and to start as many objections as he could. Accordingly, the third day after he met with the gentleman, who he found had been uneasy at his long stay, and told him, they were afraid that he only flattered them to get from them; and that they had been too easy in letting him go without a farther examination.

He took upon him to be very grave with them, and told them, That if that was what he was like to have for being so free as to tell them he thought he might serve them, they might see that they had wronged him, and were mistaken by his coming again to them; that if they thought they could do anything by examining him, they might go about it, if they pleased, now; that all he had to say to them was, that he knew where some of the young rogues haunted, who were famous for such things; and that by some inquiries, offering them money, and the like, he believed they would be brought to betray one another, and that so he might pick it out for them; and this he would say before a justice of peace, if they thought fit; and then all that he had to say farther to them, was, to tell them, he had lost a day or two in their service, and had got nothing, but to be suspected for his pains; and that after that he had done, and they might seek their goods where they could find them.

They began to listen a little upon that, and asked him, if he could give them any hopes of recovering their loss; he told them, that he was not afraid to tell them that he believed he had heard some news of them, and that what he had done, had prevented all the bills being burnt, book and all; but that now he ought not to be asked any more questions till they should be pleased to answer him a question or two. They told him they would give him any satisfaction they could, and bid him tell what he desired.

Why, sir, says he, how can you expect any thief that had robbed you to such a considerable value as this, would come and put himself into your hands, confess he had your goods, and restore them to you, if you do not give them assurance that you will not only give them the reward you agreed to, but also give assurance that they shall not be stopped, questioned, or called to account before a magistrate?

They said they would give all possible assurance of it. Nay, says he, I do not know what assurance you are able to give; for when a poor fellow is in your clutches, and has shown you your goods, you may seize upon him for a thief, and it is plain he must be so; then you go, take away your goods, send him to prison, and what amends can he have of you afterward?

They were entirely confounded with the difficulty; they asked him to try if he could get the things into his hands, and they would pay him the money before he let them go out of his hand, and he should go away half an hour before they went out of the room.

No, gentlemen, says he, that won't do now. If you had talked so before you had talked of apprehending me for nothing, I should have taken your words; but now it is plain you have had such a thought in your heads, and how can I, or any one else, be assured of safety?

Well, they thought of a great many particulars, but nothing would do; at length the other people who were present put in, that they should give security to him, by a bond of 1000*l.*, that they would not give the person any trouble whatsoever. He pretended they could not be bound, nor could their obligation be of any value, and that their own goods being once seen, they might seize them; and what would it signify, said he, to put a poor pickpocket to sue for his reward? They could not tell what to say: but told him, that he should take the things of the boy, if it was a boy; and they would be bound to pay him the money promised. He laughed at them, and said, No, gentlemen, as I am not the thief, so I shall be very loath to put myself in the thief's stead, and lie at your mercy.

They told him they knew not what to do then, and that it would be very hard he would not trust them at all. He said, he was very willing to trust them, and to serve them; but that it would be very hard to be ruined and charged with the theft, for endeavouring to serve them.

They then offered to give it him under their hands, that they did not in the least suspect him; that they would never charge him with anything about it; that they acknowledged he went about to inquire after the goods at their request; and that if he produced them, they would pay him so much money, at or before the delivery of them, without obliging him to name or produce that person he had them from.

Upon this writing, signed by three gentlemen who were present, and by the person in particular who lost the things, the young gentleman told them, he would go and do his utmost to get the pocket-book, and all that was in it.

Then he desired that they would in writing, beforehand, give him a particular of all the several things that were in the book; that he might not have it said, when he produced it, that there was not all; and he would have the said writing sealed up, and he would make the book be sealed up when it was given to him. This they agreed to; and the gentleman accordingly drew up a particular of all the bills that he remembered, as he said, was in the book; and also of the diamonds, as follows:

One bill under Sir Henry Furness's hand for 1200*l.*

One bill under Sir Charles Duncomb's hand for 800*l.*, 250*l.* indorsed off.—550*l.*

One bill under the hand of J. Tassel, goldsmith, 165*l.*

One bill of Sir Francis Child, 39*l.*

One bill of one Stewart, that kept a wager-office and insurance, 350*l.*

A paper containing thirty-seven loose diamonds, value about 250*l.*

A little paper, containing three large rough diamonds, and one large one polished, and cut, value 185*l.*

For all these things they promised, first, to give him whatever he agreed with the thief to give him, not exceeding 50*l.*, and to give him 50*l.* more for himself for procuring them.

Now he had his cue, and now he came to me, and told me honestly the whole story as above; so I delivered him the book, and he told me that he thought it was reasonable we should take the full sum; because he would seem to have done them some service, and so make them the easier. All this I agreed to; so he went the next day to the place, and the gentlemen met him very punctually.

He told them at the first word he had done their work, and, as he hoped, to their mind; and told them, if it had not been for the diamonds, he could have got all for 10*l.*, but that the diamonds had shone so bright in the boy's imagination that he talked of running away to France or Holland, and living there all his days like a gentleman; at which they laughed. However, gentlemen, said he, here is

the book; and so pulled it out, wrapt up in a dirty piece of a coloured handkerchief, as black as the street could make it, and sealed with a piece of sorry wax, and the impression of a farthing for a seal.

Upon this, the note being also unsealed, at the same time he pulled open the dirty rag, and showed the gentleman his pocket-book; at which he was so over-surprised with joy, notwithstanding all the preparatory discourse, that he was fain to call for a glass of wine or brandy to drink, to keep him from fainting.

The book being opened, the paper of diamonds was first taken out, and there they were every one, only the little paper was by itself; and the rough diamonds that were in it were loose among the rest; but he owned they were all there safe.

Then the bills were called over, one by one, and they found one bill for 80*l.* more than the account mentioned; besides several papers which were not for money, though of consequence to the gentleman, and he acknowledged that all was very honestly returned; and now, young man, said they, you shall see we will deal as honestly by you; and so, in the first place, they gave him 50*l.* for himself, and then they told out the 50*l.* for me.

He took the 50*l.* for himself, and put it up in his pocket, wrapping it in paper, it being all in gold: then he began to tell over the other 50*l.*; but when he had told out 30*l.*, Hold, gentlemen, said he, as I have acted fairly for you, so you shall have no reason to say I do not do so to the end. I have taken 30*l.*, and for so much I agreed with the boy; and so there is 20*l.* of your money again.

They stood looking one at another a good while, as surprised at the honesty of it; for till that time they were not quite without a secret suspicion that he was the thief, but that piece of policy cleared up his reputation to them. The gentleman that had got his bills said softly to one of them, Give it him all; but the other said (softly too), No, no, as long as he has got it abated, and is satisfied with the 50*l.* you have given him, 'tis very well, let it go as it is. This was not spoke so softly but he heard it, and said, No, too; I am very well satisfied, I am glad I have got them for you; and so they began to part.

But just before they were going away one of the gentle-

men said to him, Young man, come, you see we are just to you, and have done fairly, as you have also, and we will not desire you to tell us who this cunning fellow is that got such a prize from this gentleman; but as you have talked with him, pr'ythee, can you tell us nothing of how he did it, that we may beware of such sparks again?

Sir, says Will, when I shall tell you what they say, and how the particular case stood, the gentleman would blame himself more than anybody else, or as much at least. The young rogue that catched this prize was out, it seems, with a comrade, who is a nimble experienced pickpocket as most in London, but at that time the artist was somewhere at a distance, and this boy never had picked a pocket in his life before; but, he says, he stood over against the passage into the Exchange, on the east side, and the gentleman stood just by the passage; that he was very earnest in talking with some other gentleman, and often pulled out this book and opened it, and took papers out, and put others in, and returned it into his coat-pocket; that the last time it hitched at the pocket-hole, or stopt at something that was in the pocket, and hung a little out, which the boy, who had watched it a good while, perceiving, he passes by close to the gentleman, and carried it smoothly off, without the gentleman's perceiving it at all.

He went on; and said, 'Tis very strange gentlemen should put pocket-books which have such things in them into those loose pockets, and in so careless a manner. That's very true, says the gentleman; and so, with some other discourse of no great signification, he came away to me.

We were now so rich that we scarce knew what to do with our money; at least I did not, for I had no relations, no friend, nowhere to put anything I had but in my pocket; as for Will, he had a poor mother, but wicked as himself, and he made her rich, and glad with his good success.

We divided this booty equally; for, though the gaining it was mine, yet the improving of it was his, and his management brought the money; for neither he or I could have made anything proportionable of the thing any other way. As for the bills, there was no room to doubt, but unless they had been carried that minute to the goldsmith's for the money, he would have come with notice to stop the payment, and perhaps have come while the money was receiving,

and have taken hold of the person. And then as to the diamonds, there had been no offering them to sale by us poor boys to anybody, but those who were our known receivers, and they would have given us nothing for them, compared to what they were worth; for, as I understood afterwards, those who made a trade of buying stolen goods, took care to have false weights, and cheat the poor devil that stole them, at least an ounce in three.

Upon the whole, we made the best of it many ways besides. I had a strange kind of uninstructed conscience at that time; for, though I made no scruple of getting anything in this manner from anybody, yet I could not bear destroying their bills and papers, which were things that would do them a great deal of hurt, and do me no good; and I was so tormented about it, that I could not rest night or day till I made the people easy, from whom the things were taken.

I was now rich, so rich that I knew not what to do with my money, or with myself. I had lived so near and so close, that although, as I said, I did now and then lay out twopence or threepence, for mere hunger, yet I had so many people, who, as I said, employed me, and who gave me victuals, and sometimes clothes, that in a whole year I had not quite spent the 15*s*. which I had saved of the custom-house gentleman's money; and I had the four guineas, which was of the first booty before that, still in my pocket, I mean the money that I let fall into the tree.

But now I began to look higher; and though Will and I went abroad several times together, yet, when small things offered, as handkerchiefs, and such trifles, we would not meddle with them, not caring to run the risk for small matters. It fell out one day, that, as we were strolling about in West Smithfield on a Friday, there happened to be an ancient country gentleman in the market, selling some very large bullocks; it seems they came out of Sussex. His worship, for so they called him, had received the money for these bullocks at a tavern, whose sign I forget now, and having some of it in a bag, and the bag in his hand, he was taken with a sudden fit of coughing, and stands to cough, resting his hand with the bag of money in it, upon the bulk-head of a shop, just by the Cloister-gate in Smithfield, that is to say, within three or four doors of it; we were both just

behind him. Says Will to me, Stand ready; upon this, he makes an artificial stumble, and falls with his head just against the old gentleman in the very moment when he was coughing, ready to be strangled, and quite spent for want of breath.

The violence of the blow beat the old gentleman quite down; the bag of money did not immediately fly out of his hand, but I run to get hold of it, and gave it a quick snatch, pulled it clean away, and run like the wind down the Cloisters with it; turned on the left hand, as soon as I was through, and cut into Little Britain, so into Bartholomew-close, then across Aldersgate-street, through Paul's-alley into Redcross-street, and so cross all the streets, through innumerable alleys, and never stopped till I got into the second quarter of Moorfields, our old agreed rendezvous.

Will, in the mean time, fell down with the old gentleman, but soon got up; the old knight, for such it seems he was, was frighted with the fall, and his breath so stopped with his cough, that he could not recover himself to speak till some time; during which, nimble Will was got up again, and walked off; nor could he call out, stop thief, or tell anybody he had lost anything for a good while; but, coughing vehemently, and looking red, till he was almost black in the face, he cried, the ro—— Hegh, hegh, hegh, the rouges— hegh, have got— hegh, hegh, hegh, hegh, hegh, hegh,—then he would get a little breath, and at it again; the rogues—hegh, hegh; and, after a great many heghs and rogues, he brought it out,—have got away my bag of money!

All this while the people understood nothing of the matter; and as for the rogues indeed, they had time enough to get clear away, and in about an hour Will came to the rendezvous; there we sat down in the grass again, and turned out the money, which proved to be eight guineas, and 5*l.* 12*s.* in silver, so that it made just 14*l.* together. This we shared upon the spot, and went to work the same day for more; but whether it was, that, being flushed with our success, we were not so vigilant, or that no other opportunity offered, I know not, but we got nothing more that night, nor so much as anything offered itself for an attempt.

We took many walks of this kind, sometimes together, at a little distance from one another, and several small hits we made: but we were so flushed with our success, that truly

we were above meddling with trifles, as I said before, no, not such things that others would have been glad of; nothing but pocket-books, letter-cases, or sums of money would move us.

The next adventure was in the dusk of the evening, in a court, which goes out of Gracechurch-street into Lombard-street, where the Quakers' meeting-house is; there was a young fellow, who, as we learned afterward, was a woollen-draper's apprentice in Gracechurch-street; it seems he had been receiving a sum of money, which was very considerable, and he comes to a goldsmith's shop in Lombard-street with it; paid in the most of it there; insomuch that it grew dark, and the goldsmith began to be shutting in shop, and candles to be lighted; we watched him in there, and stood on the other side of the way to see what he did. When he had paid in all the money he intended, he stayed still some time longer to take notes, as I supposed, for what he had paid, and by this time it was still darker than before; at last he comes out of the shop, with still a pretty large bag under his arm, and walks over into the court, which was then very dark; in the middle of the court is a boarded entry, and farther, at the end of it, a threshold; and as soon as he had set his foot over the threshold, he was to turn on his left hand into Gracechurch-street.

Keep up, says Will to me, be nimble; and as soon as he had said so, he flies at the young man, and gives him such a violent thrust, that pushed him forward with too great a force for him to stand; and, as he strove to recover, the threshold took his feet, and he fell forward into the other part of the court, as if he had flown in the air, with his head lying towards the Quaker's meeting-house. I stood ready, and presently felt out the bag of money, which I heard fall, for it flew out of his hand, he having his life to save, not his money. I went forward with the money, and Will, that threw him down, finding I had it, run backward, and as I made along Fenchurch-street, Will overtook me, and we scoured home together. The poor young man was hurt a little with the fall, and reported to his master, as we heard afterward, that he was knocked down, which was not true, for neither Will or I had any stick in our hands; but the master of the youth was, it seems, so very thankful that his young man was not knocked down before he paid the rest of the money (which was above 100*l.* more) to the goldsmith, who

was Sir John Sweetapple, that he made no great noise at the loss he had; and, as we heard afterward, only warned his apprentice to be more careful, and come no more through such places in the dark; whereas the man had really no such deliverance as he imagined, for we saw him before, when he had all the money about him; but it was no time of day for such work as we had to do, so that he was in no danger before.

This booty amounted to 29*l.* 16*s.*, which was 14*l.* 18*s.* a-piece, and added exceedingly to my store, which began now to be very much too big for my management; and indeed I began to be now full of care for the preservation of what I had got. I wanted a trusty friend to commit it to, but where was such a one to be found by a poor boy, bred up among thieves? If I should have let any honest body know that I had so much money, they would have asked me how I came by it, and would have been afraid to take it into their hands, lest I being some time or other catched in my rogueries, they should be counted the receivers of stolen goods, and the encouragers of a thief.

We had, however, in the mean time, a great many other successful enterprises, some of one kind, some of another, and were never so much as in danger of being apprehended; but my companion Will, who was now grown a man, and encouraged by these advantages, fell into quite another vein of wickedness, getting acquainted with a wretched gang of fellows that turned their hands to everything that was vile.

Will was a lusty strong fellow, and withal very bold and daring, would fight anybody, and venture upon anything, and I found he began to be above the mean rank of a poor pick-pocket, so I saw him but seldom; however, once coming to me in a very friendly manner, and asking me how I went on, I told him that I used the old trade still, that I had had two or three good jobs; one with a young woman, whose pocket I had picked of eleven guineas; and another, a countrywoman, just come out of a stage-coach, seeing her pull out her bag to pay the coachman; and that I followed her till I got an opportunity, and slipped it out so neatly, that though there was 8*l.* 17*s.* in it, yet she never felt it go. And several other jobs I told him of, by which I made pretty good purchase. I always said you were a lucky boy, Colonel Jack, says he; but, come, you are grown almost a man now. and you shall

not be always at play at push-pin; I am got into better business, I assure you, and you shall come into it too. I'll bring you into a brave gang, Jack, says he, where you shall see we shall be all gentlemen.

Then he told me the trade itself, in short, which was with a set of fellows, that had two of the most desperate works upon their hands that belonged to the whole art of thieving; that is to say, in the evening they were footpads, and in the night they were housebreakers. Will told me so many plausible stories, and talked of such great things, that, in short, I, who had been always used to do anything he bid me do, went with him without any hesitation.

Nothing is more certain, than that hitherto, being partly from the gross ignorance of my untaught childhood, as I observed before, partly from the hardness and wickedness of the company I kept, and add to these, that it was the business I might be said to be brought up to, I had, I say, all the way hitherto, no manner of thoughts about the good or evil of what I was embarked in; consequently, I had no sense of conscience, no reproaches upon my mind for having done amiss.

Yet I had something in me, by what secret influence I knew not, kept me from the other degrees of raking and vice, and, in short, from the general wickedness of the rest of my companions; for example, I never used any ill words, nobody ever heard me swear, nor was I given to drink, or to love strong drink; and I cannot omit a circumstance that very much served to prevent it. I had a strange original notion, as I have mentioned in its place, of my being a gentleman; and several things had casually happened in my way to increase this fancy of mine. It happened one day, that being in the glass-house yard, between Rosemary-lane and Ratcliff-highway, there came a man dressed very well, and with a coach attending him, and he came (as I suppose) to buy glass-bottles, or some other goods, as they sold; and in bargaining for his goods, he swore most horrible oaths at every two or three words. At length the master of the glass-house, an ancient grave gentleman, took the liberty to reprove him, which at first made him swear the worse; after awhile, the gentleman was a little calmer, but still he swore very much, though not so bad as at first. After some time, the master of the glass-house turned from him,—Really sir, says the

good old gentleman, you swear so, and take God's name in vain so, that I cannot bear to stay with you; I would rather you would let my goods alone, and go somewhere else; I hope you won't take it ill, but I don't desire to deal with any body that does so; I am afraid my glass-house should fall on your head while you stay in it.

The gentleman grew good-humoured at the reproof, and said, Well, come, don't go away, I won't swear any more, says he, if I can help it; for I own, says he, I should not do it.

With that the old gentleman looked up at him, and, returning, Really sir, says he, 'tis a pity you, that seem to be a fine gentleman, well-bred, and good-humoured, should accustom yourself to such a hateful practice; why, 'tis not like a gentleman to swear, 'tis enough for my black wretches that work there at the furnace, or for these ragged, naked, blackguard boys, pointing at me, and some others of the dirty crew, that lay in the ashes; 'tis bad enough for them, says he, and they ought to be corrected for it too; but for a man of breeding, sir, says he, a gentleman, it ought to be looked upon as below them; gentlemen know better, and are taught better, and it is plain you know better; I beseech you, sir, when you are tempted to swear, always ask yourself, Is this like a gentleman? does this become me as a gentleman? Do but ask yourself that question, and your reason will prevail—you will soon leave it off.

I heard all this, and it made the blood run chill in my veins, when he said swearing was only fit for such as we were. In short, it made as great an impression upon me as it did upon the gentleman; and yet he took it very kindly too, and thanked the old gentleman for his advice. But from that time forward, I never had the least inclination to swearing or ill words, and abhorred it when I heard the other boys do it. As to drinking, I had no opportunity, for I had nothing to drink but water, or small beer that anybody gave me in charity, for they seldom gave away strong beer; and after I had money, I neither desired strong beer, or cared to part with my money to buy it.

Then as to principle, 'tis true I had no foundation laid in me by education; and being early led by my fate into evil, I had the less sense of its being evil, left upon my mind; but when I began to grow to an age of understanding, and to

know that I was a thief, growing up in all manner of villany, and ripening apace for the gallows, it came often into my thoughts that I was going wrong, that I was in the high road to the devil; and several times I would stop short, and ask myself if this was the life of a gentleman?

But these little things wore off again as often as they came on, and I followed the old trade again; especially when Will came to prompt me, as I have observed; for he was a kind of a guide to me in all these things; and I had, by custom and application, together with seeing his way, learned to be as acute a workman as my master.

But, to go back where I left off. Will came to me, as I have said, and telling me how much better business he was fallen into, would have me go along with him, and I should be a gentleman. Will, it seems, understood that word in a quite different manner from me: for his gentleman was nothing more or less than a gentleman thief, a villain of a higher degree than a pickpocket, and one that might do something more wicked, and better entitling him to the gallows, than could be done in our way; but my gentleman that I had my eye upon, was another thing quite, though I could not really tell how to describe it either.

However the word took with me, and I went with him. We were neither of us old; Will was about twenty-four, and as for me I was now about eighteen, and pretty tall of my age.

The first time I went with him, he brought me into the company only of two more young fellows. We met at the lower part of Gray's-Inn-lane, about an hour before sunset, and went out into the fields toward a place called Pindar of Wakefield, where are abundance of brick-kilns; here it was agreed to spread from the field-path to the road way, all the way towards Pancras church, to observe any chance game, as they called it, which they might shoot flying. Upon the path, within the bank, on the side of the road, going towards Kentish-town, two of our gang, Will, and one of the other, met a single gentleman, walking apace towards the town; being almost dark, Will cried, Mark, ho! which, it seems, was the word at which we were all to stand still at a distance, come in, if he wanted help, and give a signal if anything appeared that was dangerous.

Will steps up to the gentleman, stops him, and put the question; that is, Sir, your money? The gentleman seeing

he was alone, struck at him with his cane, but Will, a nimble, strong fellow, flew in upon him, and, with struggling, got him down; then he begged for his life, Will having told him with an oath that he would cut his throat. In that moment, while this was doing, comes a hackney-coach along the road, and the fourth man, who was that way, cries, Mark, ho! which was to intimate that it was a prize, not a surprise; and accordingly the next man went up to assist him, where they stopped the coach, which had a doctor of physic and a surgeon in it, who had been to visit some considerable patient, and, I suppose, had considerable fees; for here they got two good purses, one with eleven or twelve guineas, the other six, with some pocket money, two watches, one diamond ring, and the surgeon's plaster-box, which was most of it full of silver instruments.

While they were at this work, Will kept the man down who was under him; and though he promised not to kill him, unless he offered to make a noise, yet he would not let him stir till he heard the noise of the coach going on again, by which he knew the job was over on that side. Then he carried him a little out of the way, tied his hands behind him, and bid him lie still and make no noise, and he would come back in half an hour and untie him, upon his word; but if he cried out, he would come back and kill him.

The poor man promised to lie still and make no noise, and did so; and had not above 11*s.* 6*d.* in his pocket, which Will took, and came back to the rest; but while they were together, I, who was on the side of the Pindar of Wakefield, cried, Mark, ho! too.

What I saw was a couple of poor women, one a kind of a nurse, and the other a maid-servant going for Kentish-town. As Will knew that I was but young at the work, he came flying to me, and seeing how easy a bargain it was, he said, Go, Colonel, fall to work. I went up to them, and speaking to the elderly woman, Nurse, said I, don't be in such haste, I want to speak with you; at which they both stopped, and looked a little frighted. Don't be frighted, sweetheart, said I to the maid; a little of that money in the bottom of your pocket will make all easy, and I will do you no harm. By this time Will came up to us, for they did not see him before; then they began to scream out. Hold! says I, make

no noise, unless you have a mind to force us to murder you whether we will or no; give me your money presently, and make no words, and we shan't hurt you. Upon this the poor maid pulled out 5*s.* 6*d.* and the old woman a guinea and a shilling, crying heartily for her money, and said it was all she had left in the world. Well, we took it for all that, though it made my very heart bleed to see what agony the poor woman was in at parting with it, and I asked her where she lived; she said her name was Smith, and she lived at Kentish-town: I said nothing to her, but bid them go on about their business, and I gave Will the money; so in a few minutes we were all together again: says one of the other rogues, Come this is well enough for one road, it' time to be gone. So we jogged away, crossing the fields, out of the path towards Tottenham-court; But hold! says Will, I must go and untie the man. D-mn him, says one of them, let him lie. No, says Will, I won't be worse than my word, I will untie him. So he went to the place, but the man was gone; either he had untied himself, or somebody had passed by, and he had called for help, and so was untied, for he could not find him, nor make him hear, though he ventured to call twice for him aloud.

This made us hasten away the faster, and getting into Tottenham-court road, they thought it was a little too near, so they made into the town at St. Giles's, and crossing to Piccadilly, went to Hyde-Park-gate; here they ventured to rob another coach, that is to say, one of the two other rogues and Will did it, between the Park-gate and Knigtsbridge; there was in it only a gentleman and a punk that he had picked up, it seems, at the spring-garden, a little farther. They took the gentleman's money, his watch, and his silver-hilted sword; but when they came to the slut, she damned and cursed them for robbing the gentleman of his money, and leaving none for her; as for herself, she had not one sixpenny-piece about her, though she was indeed well enough dressed too.

Having made this adventure, we left that road too, and went over the fields to Chelsea. In the way from Westminster to Chelsea, we met three gentlemen, but they were too strong for us to meddle with; they had been afraid to come over the fields so late (for by this time it was eight o'clock, and though the moon gave some light, yet it was

too late and too dark to be safe), so they hired three men at Chelsea, two with pitchforks, and the third, a waterman, with a boat-hook-staff to guard them: we would have steered clear of them, and cared not to have them see us, if we could help it, but they did see us, and cried, Who comes there? we answered, Friends; and so they went on, to our great satisfaction.

CHAPTER V.

MY NEW PROFESSION VERY HATEFUL TO ME—WILL IS IN GREAT DANGER OF BEING TAKEN FOR A HOUSEBREAKING AT HOUNSLOW—HE LEAVES HIS PLUNDER UNDER MY BED—I MEET WITH HIM BY ACCIDENT, AND RECEIVE HIS DIRECTIONS HOW TO DISPOSE OF THE STOLEN GOODS—I MEET CAPTAIN JACK, WHO INFORMS ME WILL IS COMMITTED TO NEWGATE—I PAY A VISIT TO MY OLD FRIEND MENTIONED IN THE THIRD CHAPTER—CONVERSATION WITH HIM—I AM APPREHENDED—CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.

When we came to Chelsea, it seems we had other work to do, which I had not been made privy to; and this was a house to be robbed. They had some intelligence, it seems, with a servant in the house, who was of their gang; this rogue was a waiting-man, or footman, and he had a watch-word to let them in by; but this fellow, not for want of being a villain, but by getting drunk, and not minding his part of the work, disappointed us; for he had promised to rise at two o'clock in the morning and let us all in, but, being very drunk, and not come in at eleven o'clock, his master ordered him to be shut out, and the doors locked up, and charged the other servants not to let him in upon any terms whatsoever.

We came about the house at one o'clock to make our observations, intending to go and lie under Beaufort House wall till the clock struck two, and then to come again; but, behold! when we came to the house, there lay the fellow at the door fast asleep, and very drunk. Will, who I found was the leader in all these things, waked the fellow, who, as he had had about two hours' sleep, was a little come to himself, and told them the misfortune, as he called it, and

that he could not get in: they had some instruments about them, by which they could have broken in by force, but Will considered that as it was but waiting till another time, and they should be let in quietly, they resolved to give it over for that time.

But this was a happy drunken bout for the family; for the fellow having let fall some words in his drink (for he was a saucy one as well as a drunken one, and talked oddly), as that it had been better they had let him in, and he would make them pay dear for it, or some such thing; the master hearing of it, turned him away in the morning, and never let him come into his house again: so, I say, it was a happy drunkenness to the family, for it saved them from being robbed, and perhaps murdered, for they were a cursed bloody crew, and, as I found, were about thirteen of them in all, whereof three of them made it their business to get into gentlemen's services, and so to open doors in the night, and let the other rogues in upon them to rob and destroy them.

I rambled this whole night with them. They went from Chelsea, being disappointed there as above, to Kensington; there they broke into a brewhouse and washhouse, and by that means into an out-kitchen of a gentleman's house, where they unhanged a small copper, and brought it off, and stole about a hundred weight of pewter, and went clear off with that too; and every one going their own by-ways, they found means to get safe to their several receptacles where they used to dispose of such things.

We lay still the next day, and shared the effects stolen that night, of which my share came to 8*l.* 19*s.* The copper and pewter being weighed, and cast up, a person was at hand to take it as money, at about half value, and in the afternoon Will and I came away together. Will was mighty full of the success we had had, and how we might be sure of the like this way every day. But he observed that I did not seem so elevated at the success of that night's ramble as I used to be, and also, that I did not take any great notice of the expectations he was in, of what was to come; yet I had said little to him at that time.

But my heart was full of the poor woman's case at Kentish-town, and I resolved, if possible, to find her out, and give her her money. With the abhorrence that filled

my mind at the cruelty of that act, there necessarily followed a little distaste for the thing itself; and now it came into my head with a double force, that this was the high road to the devil, and that certainly this was not the life of a gentleman.

Will and I parted for that time, but next morning we met again, and Will was mighty brisk and merry; And now, Colonel Jack, says he, we shall be rich very quickly. Well, says I, and what shall we do when we are rich? Do! says he; we will buy a couple of good horses, and go farther afield. What do you mean by farther afield? says I. Why, says he, we will take the highway like gentlemen, and then we shall get a great deal of money indeed. Well, says I, what then? Why then, says he, we shall live like gentlemen.

But, Will, says I, if we get a great deal of money, shan't we leave this trade off, and sit down, and be safe and quiet?

Ay, says Will, when we have got a great estate we shall be willing to lay it down. But where, says I, shall we be before that time comes, if we should drive on this cursed kind of trade?

Prithee never think of that, says Will: if you think of those things, you will never be fit to be a gentleman. He touched me there indeed, for it ran much in my mind still that I was to be a gentleman, and it made me dumb for awhile; but I came to myself after a little while, and I said to him, pretty tartly, Why, Will, do you call this way of living the life of a gentleman?

Why, says Will, why not?

Why, says I, was it like a gentleman for me to take that 22*s.* from a poor ancient woman, when she begged of me upon her knees not to take it, and told me it was all she had in the world to buy her bread for herself and a sick child which she had at home? Do you think I could be so cruel, if you had not stood by and made me do it? Why, I cried at doing it as much as the poor woman did, though I did not let you see me.

You fool you, says Will, you will never be fit for our business, indeed, if you mind such things as those; I shall bring you off those things quickly. Why, if you will be fit for business, you must learn to fight when they resist, and

cut their tnroats when they submit; you must learn to stop their breath, that they may beg and pray no more. What signifies pity, prithee who will pity us when we come to the Old Bailey? I warrant you that whining old woman, that begged so heartily for her 22*s.*, would let you and I beg upon our knees, and would not save our lives by not coming in for an evidence against us. Did you ever see any of them cry when they see gentlemen go to the gallows?

Well, Will, says I, you had better let us keep to the business we were in before; there were no such cruel doings in that, and yet we got more money by it than I believe we shall get at this.

No, no, says Will, you are a fool; you don't know what fine things we shall do in a little while.

Upon this discourse we parted for that time; but I resolved with myself that I would never be concerned with him that way any more. The truth is, they were such a dreadful gang, such horrid barbarous villains, that even that little while that I was among them, my very blood ran cold in my veins at what I heard, particularly the continued raving and damning one another, and themselves, at every word they spoke; and then the horrid resolutions of murder, and cutting throats, which I perceived was in their minds upon any occasion that should present. This appeared first in their discourse upon the disappointment they met with at Chelsea, where the two rogues that were with us, ay, and Will too, damned and raged that they could not get into the house, and swore they would have cut the gentleman's throat if they had got in; and shook hands, damning and cursing themselves, if they did not murder the whole family as soon as Tom (that was the man-servant) could get an opportunity to let them in.

Two days after this, Will came to my lodging; for I had now got a room by myself, had bought me tolerable good clothes and some shirts, and began to look like other folks; but, as it happened, I was abroad upon the scout in another way; for, though I was not hardened enough for so black a villain as Will would have had me be, yet I had not arrived to any principle sufficient to keep me from a life, in its degree wicked enough, which tended to the same destruction, though not in so violent and precipitant degrees. I had his message

delivered to me, which was to meet him the next evening at such a place, and, as I came in time enough to go, I went to the place, but resolved beforehand, that I would not go any more with him among the gang.

However, to my great satisfaction, I missed him, for he did not come at all to the place, but met with the gang at another place, they having sent for him in haste upon the notice of some booty; and so they went all away together. This was a summons, it seems, from one of the creatures which they had abroad in a family, where an opportunity offered them to commit a notorious robbery, down almost as far as Hounslow, and where they wounded a gentleman's gardener so, that I think he died, and robbed the house of a very considerable sum of money and plate.

This, however, was not so clean carried, nor did they get in so easy, but by the resistance they met with, the neighbours were all alarmed, and the gentlemen rogues were pursued, and being at London with the booty, one of them was taken. Will, a dexterous fellow and head of the gang, made his escape, and though in his clothes, with a great weight about him, of both money and plate, plunged into the Thames, and swam over where there was no path, or road, leading to the river; so that nobody suspected any one's going that way. Being got over, he made his way, wet as he was, into some woods adjacent, and, as he told me afterwards, not far from Chertsey, and stayed lurking about in the woods or fields thereabout, till his clothes were dry; then, in the night, got down to Kingston, and so to Mortlake, where he got a boat to London.

He knew not that one of his comrades was taken; only he knew that they were all so closely pursued that they were obliged to disperse, and every one to shift for himself. He happened to come home in the evening, as good luck then directed him, just after search had been made for him by the constables; his companion, who was taken, having, upon promise of favour, and of saving him from the gallows, discovered his companions, and Will among the rest, as the principal party in the whole undertaking.

Will got notice of this just time enough to run for it, and not to be taken, and away he came to look for me; but, as my good fate still directed, I was not at home neither. However, he left all his booty at my lodging, and hid it in an old

coat that lay under my bedding, and left word that my brother Will had been there, and had left his coat, that he borrowed of me, and that it was under my bed.

I knew not what to make of it, but went up to go to bed; and, finding the parcel, was perfectly frighted to see, wrapped up in it, above one hundred pound in plate and money, and yet knew nothing of brother Will, as he called himself, nor did I hear of him for three or four days.

At the end of four days, I heard, by great accident, that Will, who used to be seen with me, and who called me brother, was taken, and would be hanged. Next day, a poor man, a shoemaker, that used formerly to have a kindness for me, and to send me of errands, and gave me sometimes some victuals, seeing me accidentally in Rosemary-lane, going by him, clasped me fast hold by the arm; Hark ye, young man, says he, have I catched you? and hauled me along as if I had been a thief apprehended, and he the constable. Hark ye, Colonel Jack, says he again, come along with me, I must speak with you. What, are you got into this gang too? What, are you turned housebreaker? Come, I'll have you hanged, to be sure.

These were dreadful words to me, who, though not guilty of the particular thing in question, yet was frighted heartily before, and did not know what I might be charged with by Will, if he was taken, as I heard that very morning he was. With these words, the shoemaker began to haul and drag me along as he used to do when I was a boy.

However, recovering my spirits, and provoked to the highest degree, I said to him again, What do you mean, Mr. ——? Let me alone, or you will oblige me to make you do it; and, with that, I stopped short, and soon let him see I was a little too big to be hauled about as I used to be when I run of his errands, and made a motion with my other hand as if I would strike him in the face.

How, Jack! says he, will you strike me? will you strike your old friend? and then he let go my arm, and laughed. Well, but hark ye, colonel, says he, I am in earnest, I hear bad news of you; they say you are gotten into bad company, and that this Will calls you brother; he is a great villain, and I hear he is charged with a bloody robbery, and will be hanged, if he is taken. I hope you are not concerned with him; if you are, I would advise you to shift for yourself, for

the constable and the headborough are after him to-day, and if he can lay anything to you, he will do it, you may be sure; he will certainly hang you to save himself.

This was kind, and I thanked him; but told him, this was a thing too serious, and that had too much weight in it to be jested with, as he had done before; and that some ignorant stranger might have seized upon me as a person guilty, who had no farther concern in it than just knowing the man, and so I might have been brought into trouble for nothing; at least people might have thought I was among them, whether I was or no, and it would have rendered me suspected, though I was innocent.

He acknowledged that; told me he was but in jest, and that he talked to me just as he used to do. However, colonel, says he, I won't jest any more with you in a thing of such a dangerous consequence; I only advise you to keep the fellow company no more.

I thanked him, and went away, but in the greatest perplexity imaginable; and now, not knowing what to do with myself, or with the little ill-gotten wealth which I had, I went musing and alone into the fields towards Stepney, my usual walk, and there began to consider what to do; and as this creature had left his prize in my garret, I began to think that if he should be taken, and should confess, and send the officers to search there for the goods, and they should find them, I should be undone, and should be taken up for a confederate; whereas I knew nothing of the matter, and had no hand in it.

While I was thus musing, and in great perplexity, I heard somebody halloo to me; and, looking about, I saw Will running after me. I knew not what to think at first; but seeing him alone, was the more encouraged, and I stood still for him. When he came up to me, I said to him, What is the matter, Will? Matter! says Will, matter enough; I am undone—When was you at home?

I saw what you left there, says I; what is the meaning of it, and where got you all that? is that your being undone?

Ay, says Will, I am undone for all that; for the officers are after me; and I am a dead dog if I am taken, for George is in custody, and he has peached me, and all the others, to save his life.

Life! says I: why should you lose your life if they should take you? Pray what would they do to you?

Do to me! says he; they would hang me, if the king had ne'er another soldier in his guards; I shall certainly be hanged as I am now alive.

This frighted me terribly, and I said, And what will you do then? Nay, says he, I know not: I would get out of the nation, if I knew how; but I am a stranger to all those things, and I know not what to do, not I; advise me, Jack, says he, prithee tell me whither shall I go; I have a good mind to go to sea.

You talk of going away, says I; what will you do with all you have hid in my garret? it must not lie there, said I; for if I should be taken up for it, and it be found to be the money you stole, I shall be ruined.

I care not what becomes of it, not I, says Will; I'll be gone; do you take it, if you will, and do what you will with it; I must fly, and I cannot take it with me. I won't have it, not I, says I to him; I'll go and fetch it to you if you will take it, says I, but I won't meddle with it; besides, there is plate, what shall I do with plate? said I; if I should offer to sell it anywhere, said I, they will stop me.

As for that, says Will, I could sell it well enough, if I had it, but I must not be seen anywhere among my old acquaintance, for I am blown, and they will all betray me; but I will tell you where you shall go and sell it, if you will, and they will ask you no questions, if you give them the word that I will give you. So he gave me the word, and directions to a pawnbroker, near Cloth-fair; the word was *Good tower standard.* Having these instructions, he said to me, Colonel Jack, I am sure you won't betray me; and I promise you, if I am taken, and should be hanged, I won't name you; I will go to such a house (naming a house at Bromley by Bow, where he and I had often been), and there, says he, I'll stay till it is dark; at night I will come near the streets, and I will lay under such a haystack all night (a place we both knew also very well); and if you cannot finish to come to me there, I will go back to Bow.

I went back and took the cargo, went to the place by Cloth-fair, and gave the word *Good tower standard;* and without any words, they took the plate, weighed it, and paid

me after the rate of 2*s*. per ounce for it; so I came away and went to meet him, but it was too late to meet him at the first place; but I went to the haystack, and there I found him fast asleep.

I delivered him his cargo; what it really amounted to I knew not, for I never told it; but I went home to my quarters very late and tired. I went to sleep at first, but, notwithstanding I was so weary, I slept little or none for several hours; at last, being overcome with sleep, I dropped, but was immediately roused with noise of people knocking at the door, as if they would beat it down, and crying and calling out to the people of the house, Rise, and let in the constable here, we come for your lodger in the garret.

I was frighed to the last degree, and started up in my bed; but when I was awaked, I heard no noise at all, but of two watchmen thumping at the doors with their staves, and giving the hour, Past three o'clock, and a rainy wet morning, for such it was. I was very glad when I found it was but a dream, and went to bed again, but was soon roused a second time with the same, very same noise and words: then, being sooner awaked than I was before, I jumped out of bed, and run to the window, and found it was just an hour more, and the watchmen were come about, Past four o'clock, and they went away again very quietly; so I lay me down again, and slept the rest of the night quietly enough.

I laid no stress upon the thing called a dream, neither till now did I understand that dreams were of any importance; but getting up the next day, and going out with a resolution to meet brother Will, who should I meet but my former brother, captain Jack: when he saw me, he came close to me in his blunt way, and says, Do you hear the news? No, not I, said I, what news? Your old comrade and teacher is taken this morning and carried to Newgate. How, says I, this morning? Yes, says he, this morning, at four o'clock. He is charged with a robbery and murder, somewhere beyond Brentford; and that which is worse, is, that he is impeached by one of the gang, who, to save his own life, has turned evidence; and therefore you had best consider, says the captain, what you have to do. What I have to do! says I; and what do you mean by that? Nay, colonel, says he, don't be angry, you know best; if you are not in danger I am glad of it, but I doubt not but you were with them. No, not I, said

I, again: I assure you I was not. Well, says he, but if you were not with them this bout, you have been with them at other times; and 'twill be all one. Not I, says I, you are quite mistaken, I am none of their gang; they are above my quality. With such, and a little more talk of that kind, we parted, and Captain Jack went away; but as he went, I observed he shook his head, seemed to have more concern upon him than he could be supposed to have merely on my account, of which we shall hear more very quickly.

I was extremely alarmed when I heard Will was in Newgate, and, had I known where to have gone, would certainly have fled as far as legs would have carried me; my very joints trembled, and I was ready to sink into the ground; and all that evening and that night following, I was in the uttermost consternation; my head run upon nothing but Newgate and the gallows, and being hanged; which, I said, I deserved, if it were for nothing but taking that two-and-twenty shillings from the poor old nurse.

The first thing my perplexed thoughts allowed me to take care of was my money. This indeed lay in a little compass, and I carried it generally all about me. I had got together, as you will perceive by the past account, above 60*l.* (for I spent nothing), and what to do with it I knew not; at last it came into my head that I would go to my benefactor, the clerk at the custom-house, if he was to be found, and see if I could get him to take the rest of my money: the only business was to make a plausible story to him, that he might not wonder how I came by so much money.

But my invention quickly supplied that want; there was a suit of clothes at one of our houses of rendezvous, which was left there for any of the gang to put on, upon particular occasions, as a disguise: this was a green livery, laced with pink-coloured galloon, and lined with the same; an edged hat, a pair of boots, and a whip. I went and dressed myself up in this livery, and went to my gentleman, to his house in Tower-street, and there I found him in health, and well, just the same honest gentleman as ever.

He stared at me when first I came to him, for I met him just at his door; I say he stared at me, and seeing me bow, and bow to him several times, with my laced hat uuder my arm; at last, not knowing me in the least, says he to me, Dost thou want to speak with me, young man? and I said,

Yes, sir; I believe your worship (I had learnt some manners now) does not know me; I am the poor boy Jack. He looked hard at me, and then recollecting me presently, says he, who, Colonel Jack! why, where hast thou been all this while? why, 'tis five or six years since I saw you. 'Tis above six years, and please your worship, says I.

Well, and where hast thou been all this while? says he.

I have been in the country, sir, says I, at service.

Well, Colonel Jack, says he, you give long credit; what's the reason you han't fetched your money all this while, nor the interest? why, you will grow so rich in time by the interest of your money, you won't know what to do with it.

To that I said nothing, but bowed and scraped a great many times. Well, come, Colonel Jack, said he, come in, and I will give you your money, and the interest of it too.

I cringed, and bowed, and told him I did not come to him for my money; for I had had a good place or two, and I did not want my money.

Well, Colonel Jack, said he, and who do you live with?

Sir Jonathan Loxham, said I, sir, in Somersetshire, and please your worship. This was a name I had heard of, but knew nothing of any such gentleman, or of the country.

Well, says he, but won't you have your money, Jack?

No, sir, said I, if your worship would please, for I have had a good place.

If I would please to do what, prithee? Your money is ready, I tell thee.

No, sir, said I, but I have had a good place.

Well, and what dost thou mean, Jack? I do not understand thee.

Why, and please your worship, my old master, Sir Jonathan's father, left me 30*l.* when he died, and a suit of mourning, and—

And what, prithee, Jack? what, hast thou brought me more money? For then he began to understand what I meant.

Yes, sir, said I, and your worship would be so good to take it, and put it all together; I have saved some too out of my wages.

I told you, Jack, says he, you would be rich; and how much hast thou saved? come let me see it.

To shorten the story, I pulled it out, and he was content

to take it, giving me his note, with interest, for the whole sum, which amounted to 94*l.*, that is to say,

25*l.*	The first money.
9*l.*	For six years' interest.
60*l.*	Now paid him.
94*l.*	

I came away exceeding joyful, made him abundance of bows and scrapes, and went immediately to shift my clothes again, with a resolution to run away from London, and see it no more for a great while; but I was surprised the very next morning, when, going cross Rosemary-lane, by the end of the place which is called Rag-fair, I heard one call Jack; he had said something before, which I did not hear, but upon hearing the name Jack, I looked about me, immediately saw three men, and after them a constable coming towards me with great fury. I was in a great surprise, and started to run, but one of them clapped in upon me, and got hold of me, and in a moment the rest surrounded me, and I was taken. I asked them what they wanted, and what I had done? They told me it was no place to talk of that there; but showed me their warrant, and bade me read it, and I should know the rest when I came before the justice; so they hurried me away.

I took the warrant, but to my great affliction, I could know nothing by that, for I could not read; so I desired them to read it, and they read it, that they were to apprehend a known thief, that went by the name of one of the three Jacks of Rag-fair; for that he was charged upon oath with having been a party in a notorious robbery, burglary, and murder, committed so and so, in such a place, and on such a day.

It was to no purpose for me to deny it, or to say I knew nothing of it, that was none of their business they said; that must be disputed, they told me, before the justice, where I would find that it was sworn positively against me, and then, perhaps, I might be better satisfied.

I had no remedy but patience; and, as my heart was full of terror and guilt, so I was ready to die with the weight of it as they carried me along; for as I very well knew that I was guilty of the first day's work, though I was not of the

last, so I did not doubt but I should be sent to Newgate, and then I took it for granted I must be hanged; for to go to Newgate, and to be hanged, were to me as things which necessarily followed one another.

But I had a sharp conflict to go through before it came to that part; and that was before the justice; where, when I was come, and the constable brought me in, the justice asked me my name; But hold, says he, young man; before I ask you your name, let me do you justice; you are not bound to answer till your accusers come; so, turning to the constable, he asked for his warrant.

Well, says the justice, you have brought this young man here by virtue of this warrant; is this young man the person for whom this warrant is granted?

Con. I believe so, and please your worship.

Just. Believe so! Why, are you not sure of it?

Con. An't please your worship, the people said so where I took him.

Just. It is a very particular kind of warrant; it is to apprehend a young man who goes by the name of Jack, but no surname, only that it is said, he is called Captain Jack, or some other such name. Now, young man, pray is your name Captain Jack? or are you usually called so?

I presently found that the men that took me knew nothing of me, and the constable had taken me up by hearsay; so I took heart, and told the justice, that I thought, with submission, that it was not the present question, what my name was, but what these men or any one else, had to lay to my charge; whether I was the person who the warrant empowered them to apprehend or no?

He smiled; 'Tis very true, young man, says he, it is very true; and on my word, if they have taken you up, and do not know you, and there is nobody to charge you, they will be mistaken, to their own damage.

Then I told his worship, I hoped I should not be obliged to tell my name till my accuser was brought to charge me, and then I should not conceal my name.

It is but reason, said his worship. Mr. Constable, turning to the officers, are you sure this is the person that is intended in your warrant? If you are not, you must fetch the person that accuses him, and on whose oath the warrant was

granted. They used many words to insinuate that I was the person, and that I knew it well enough, and that I should be obliged to tell my name.

I insisted on the unreasonableness of it, and that I should not be obliged to accuse myself; and the justice told them in so many words, that he could not force me to it, that I might do it if I would, indeed; but you see, says the justice, he understood too well, to be imposed upon in that case. So that, in short, after an hour's debating before his worship, in which time I pleaded against four of them, the justice told them they must produce the accuser, or he must discharge me.

I was greatly encouraged at this, and argued with the more vigour for myself; at length the accuser was brought, fettered as he was, from the gaol, and glad I was when I saw him, and found that I knew him not; that is to say, that it was not one of the two rogues that I went out with that night that we robbed the poor old woman.

When the prisoner was brought into the room, he was set right against me.

Do you know this young man, says the justice?

No, sir, says the prisoner, I never saw him in my life.

Hum! says the justice, did not you charge one that goes by the name of Jack, or Captain Jack, as concerned in the robbery and murder which you are in custody for?

Pris. Yes, an't please your worship, says the prisoner.

Just. And is this the man, or is he not?

Pris. This is not the man, sir; I never saw this man before.

Very good: Mr. Constable, says the justice, What must we do now?

I am surprised, says the constable; I was at such a house, naming the house, and this young man went by; the people cried out, There's Jack, that's your man, and these people ran after him, and apprehended him.

Well, says the justice, and have these people anything to say to him? can they prove that he is the person?

One said no, and the other said no; and, in short, they all said no. Why then, said the justice, what can be done? the young man must be discharged; and I must tell you, Mr. Constable, and you gentlemen, that have brought him hither,

he may give you trouble if he thinks fit, for your being so rash. But look you, young man, says the justice, you have no great damage done you, and the constable, though he has been mistaken, had no ill design, but to be faithful to his office; I think you may pass it by.

I told his worship, I would readily pass it by at his direction; but I thought the constable and the rest could do no less than to go back to the place where they had insulted me, and declare publicly there that I was honourably acquitted, and that I was not the man. This his worship said was very reasonable, and the constable and his assistants promised to do it, and so we came all away good friends, and I was cleared with triumph.

NOTE.—This was the time that, as I mentioned above, the justice talked to me, and told me I was born to better things, and that by my well managing of my own defence, he did not question but I had been well educated; and that he was sorry I should fall into such a misfortune as this, which he hoped however would be no dishonour to me, since I was so handsomely acquitted.

CHAPTER VI.

I VISIT WILL, MY TUTOR IN WICKEDNESS, IN NEWGATE—HE IS EXECUTED—CAPTAIN JACK PROPOSES TO ME TO FLY INTO SCOTLAND—I RETURN THE POOR OLD WOMAN THE MONEY I HAD FORMERLY ROBBED HER OF—CAPTAIN JACK AND I SET OUT ON OUR JOURNEY NORTH—THE CAPTAIN'S ROGUERIES, AND VARIOUS ADVENTURES ON THE ROAD.

THOUGH his worship was mistaken in the matter of my education, yet it had this good effect upon me, that I resolved, if possible, I would learn to read and write, that I would not be such an uncapable creature, that I should not be able to read a warrant, and see whether I was the person to be apprehended or not.

But there was something more in all this than what I have taken notice of; for, in a word, it appeared plainly, that my brother Captain Jack, who had the forwardness to put it to me, whether I was among them or no? when in truth he was

there himself, had the only reason to be afraid to fly, at the same time that he advised me to shift for myself.

As this presently occurred to my thoughts, so I made it my business to inquire and find him out, and to give him notice of it.

In the mean time, being now confident of my own safety, I had no more concern upon my mind about myself; but now I began to be anxious for poor Will, my master and tutor in wickedness, who was now fast by the heels in Newgate, while I was happily at liberty, and I wanted very much to go and see him, and accordingly did so.

I found him in a sad condition, loaden with heavy irons, and had himself no prospect or hope of escaping; he told me he should die, but bid me be easy; for, as it would do him no good to accuse me, who never was out with any of them but that once, so I might depend upon it, he would not bring me into the trouble; as for the rogue who had betrayed them all, he was not able to hurt me, for I might be satisfied he had never seen me in his life; but, Colonel Jack, says he, I will tell you who was with us, and that is, your brother the captain, and the villain has certainly named him; and, therefore, says he, if you can give him timely notice of it, do, that he may make his escape.

He said a great many things to warn me of following the steps he had led me. I was far out, Jack, said he, when I told you, to be a notorious thief was to live like a gentleman. He chiefly discovered his concern that they had, as he feared, killed the gentleman's gardener, and that he in particular had given him a wound in the neck, of which he was afraid he would die.

He had a great sum of money in gold about him, being the same that I had carried back to him at the haystack; and he had concealed it so well, that those who took him had not found it, and he gave me the greatest part of it to carry to his mother, which I very honestly delivered, and came away with a heavy heart: nor did I ever see him since, for he was executed in about three weeks' time after, being condemned that very next sessions.

I had nothing to do now but to find the captain, who, though not without some trouble, I at last got news of, and told him the whole story, and how I had been taken up for

him by mistake, and was come off, but that the warrant was still out for him, and very strict search after him; I say, telling him all this, he presently discovered by his surprise that he was guilty, and after a few words more, told me plainly it was all true, that he was in the robbery; and that he had the greatest part of the booty in keeping, but what to do with it, or himself, he did not know; and wanted me to tell him, which I was very unfit to do, for I knew nothing of the world. Then he told me he had a mind to fly into Scotland, which was easy to be done, and asked me if I would go with him. I told him I would with all my heart, if I had money enough to bear the charge. He had the trade still in his eyes by his answer; I warrant you, says he, we will make the journey pay our charge. I dare not think of going any more upon the adventure, says I; besides, if we meet with any misfortune, out of our knowledge, we shall never get out of it, we shall be undone. Nay, says he, we shall find no mercy here, if they can catch us, and they can do no worse abroad; I am for venturing at all events.

Well, but captain, says I, have you husbanded your time so ill that you have no money to supply you in such a time as this? I have very little indeed, said he, for I have had bad luck lately. But he lied, for he had a great share of the booty they had got at their last adventure, as above; and, as the rest complained, he and Will had got almost all of it, and kept the rest out of their shares, which made them the willinger to discover them.

However it was, he owned he had about 22*l.* in money, and something that would yield money; I suppose it was plate; but he would not tell me what it was, or where it was, but he said he durst not go to fetch it, for he should be betrayed and seized, so he would venture without it; sure, says he, we shall come back again some time or other.

I honestly produced all the money I had, which was 16*l.* and some odd shillings. Now, says I, if we are good husbands, and travel frugally, this will carry us quite out of danger; for we had both been assured, that when we came out of England, we should be both safe, and nobody could hurt us, though they had known us; but we neither of us thought it was so many weary steps to Scotland as we found it.

I speak of myself as in the same circumstances of danger

with brother Jack; but it was only thus: I was in as much fear as he, but not in quite as much danger.

I cannot omit, that, in the interval of these things, and a few days before I carried my money to the gentleman in Tower-street, I took a walk all alone into the fields, in order to go to Kentish-town, and do justice to the poor old nurse; it happened that before I was aware, I crossed a field that came to the very spot where I robbed the poor old woman and the maid, or where, I should say, Will made me rob them; my heart had reproached me many a time with that cruel action, and many a time I promised to myself, that I would find a way to make her satisfaction, and restore her money, and that day I had set apart for the work; but was a little surprised that I was so suddenly upon the unhappy spot.

The place brought to my mind the villany I had committed there, and something struck me with a kind of wish, I cannot say prayer, for I knew not what that meant, that I might leave off that cursed trade, and said to myself, O! that I had some trade to live by; I would never rob no more, for sure 'tis a wicked, abominable thing.

Here indeed I felt the loss of what just parents do, and ought to do, by all their children: I mean, being bred to some trade or employment; and I wept many times, that I knew not what to do, or what to turn my hand to, though I resolved to leave off the wicked course I was in.

But, to return to my journey, I asked my way to Kentish-town, and it happened to be of a poor woman that said she lived there; upon which intelligence, I asked if she knew a woman that lived there, whose name was Smith? She answered, Yes, very well, that she was not a settled inhabitant, only a lodger in the town, but that she was an honest, poor, industrious woman, and, by her labour and pains, maintained a diseased husband, that had been unable to help himself some years.

What a villain have I been, said I to myself, that I should rob such a poor woman as this, and add grief and tears to her misery, and to the sorrows of her house! This quickened my resolution to restore her money, and not only so, but I resolved I would give her something, over and above her loss; so I went forward, and by the direction I had received, found her lodging with very little trouble; then asking for

the woman, she came to the door immediately, for she heard me ask for her by her name of a little girl that came first to the door. I presently spoke to her: Dame, said I, was not you robbed about a year ago, as you was coming home from London, about Pindar of Wakefield? Yes, indeed I was, says she, and sadly frighted into the bargain. And how much did you lose? said I. Indeed, says she, I lost all the money I had in the world; I am sure I worked hard for it, it was money for keeping a nurse-child that I had then, and I had been at London to receive it. But how much was it, dame? said I. Why, says she, it was 22*s.* 6½*d.*; 21*s.* I had been to fetch, and the odd money was my own before.

Well, look you, good woman, what will you say if I should put you in a way to get your money again; for I believe the fellow that took it is fast enough now, and perhaps I may do you a kindness in it, and for that I came to see you. O dear! says the old woman, I understand you, but indeed I cannot swear to the man's face again; for it was dark, and beside, I would not hang the poor wretch for my money; let him live and repent. That is very kind, says I, more than he deserves from you; but you need not be concerned about that, for he will be hanged whether you appear against him or not; but are you willing to have your money again that you lost? Yes, indeed, says the woman, I should be glad of that, for I have not been so hard put to it for money a great while as I am now; I have much ado to find us bread to eat, though I work hard early and late; and with that she cried.

I thought it would have broken my very heart, to think how this poor creature worked, and was a slave at near threescore, and that I, a young fellow of hardly twenty, should rob her of her bread to support my idleness and wicked life; and the tears came from my eyes in spite of all my struggling to prevent it, and the woman perceived it too. Poor woman, said I, 'tis a sad thing such creatures as these should plunder and strip such a poor object as thou art! Well, he is at leisure now to repent it, I assure you. I perceive, sir, says she, you are very compassionate indeed; I wish he may improve the time God has spared him, and that he may repent, and I pray God give him repentance; whoever he is, I forgive him, whether he can make me recompense or not, and I pray God forgive him: I won't do him any prejudice, not I. And with that she went on praying for me.

Well, dame, come hither to me, says I; and with that I put my hand into my pocket, and she came to me. Hold up your hand, said I; which she did, and I told her nine half-crowns into her hand. There, dame, said I, is your 22*s.* 6*d.* you lost; I assure you, dame, said I, I have been the chief instrument to get it of him for you; for, ever since he told me the story of it among the rest of his wicked exploits, I never gave him any rest till I made him promise me to make yon restitution. All the while I held her hand and put the money into it, I looked in her face, and I perceived her colour come and go, and that she was under the greatest surprise of joy imaginable.

Well, God bless him, says she, and spare him from the disaster he is afraid of, if it be his will; for sure, this is an act of so much justice, and so honest, that I never expected the like. She run on a great while so, and wept for him, when I told her I doubted there was no room to expect his life. Well, says she, then pray God give him repentance, and bring him to heaven, for sure he must have something that is good at the bottom; he has a principle of honesty at bottom to be sure, however he may have been brought into bad courses, by bad company or evil example, or other temptations; but I dare say he will be brought to repentance one time or other before he dies.

All this touched me nearer than she imagined: for I was the man that she prayed for all this while, though she did not know it, and in my heart I said amen to it; for I was sensible that I had done one of the vilest actions in the world, in attacking a poor creature in such a condition, and not listening to her entreaties, when she begged so heartily for that little money we took from her.

In a word, the good woman so moved me with her charitable prayers, that I put my hand in my pocket again for her; Dame, said I, you are so charitable in your petitions for this miserable creature, that it puts me in mind of one thing more which I will do for him, whether he ordered me or not; and that is, to ask you forgiveness for the thief in robbing you; for it was an offence, and a trespass against you, as well as an injury to you; and therefore I ask your pardon for him: will you sincerely and heartily forgive him, Dame? I do desire of you; and with that I stood up, and, with my hat off, asked her pardon. O! sir, says she, do not stand up,

and with your hat off to me! I am a poor woman, I forgive him, and all that were with him; for there was one or more with him; I forgive them with all my heart, and I pray God to forgive them.

Well, dame, then, said I, to make you some recompense for your charity, there is something for you more than your loss; and with that I gave her a crown more.

Then I asked her who that was who was robbed with her? She said it was a servant-maid that lived then in the town, but she was gone from her place, and she did not know where she lived now. Well, dame, says I, if ever you do hear of her, let her leave word where she may be found; and if I live to come and see you again, I will get the money of him for her too: I think that was but little, was it? No, says she, it was but 5*s.* 6*d.*, which I knew as well as she. Well, says I, dame, inquire her out if you have an opportunity; so she promised me she would, and away I came.

The satisfaction this gave me was very much; but then a natural consequence attended it, which filled me with reflection afterwards; and this was, that, by the same rule, I ought to make restitution to all that I had wronged, in the like manner; and what could I do as to that? To this I knew not what to say, and so the thought in time wore off; for, in short, it was impossible to be done. I had not ability, neither did I know any of the people whom I had so injured; and that satisfying me for the present, I let it drop.

I come now to my journey with Captain Jack, my supposed brother. We set out from London on foot, and travelled the first day to Ware, for we had learnt so much of our road, that the way lay through that town; we were weary enough the first day, having not been used at all to travelling; but we made shift to walk once up and down the town, after we came into it.

I soon found that his walking out to see the town was not to satisfy his curiosity in viewing the place, for he had no notion of anything of that kind; but to see if he could light of any purchase; for he was so natural a thief that he could see nothing on the road, but it occurred to him how easily that might be taken, and how cleverly this might be carried off, and the like.

Nothing offered in Ware to his mind, it not being market day; and as for me, though I made no great scruple of eating

and drinking at the cost of his roguery, yet I resolved not to enter upon anything, as they called it, nor to take the least thing from anybody.

When the captain found me resolved upon the negative, he asked me how I thought to travel? I asked him what he thought of himself, that was sure to be hanged if he was taken, how small soever the crime was that he should be taken for. How can that be? says he; they don't know me in the country. Ay, says I, but do you think they do not send up word to Newgate as soon as any thief is taken in the country, and so inquire who is escaped from them, or who is fled, that they may be stopped? Assure yourself, says I, the gaolers correspond with one another, with the greatest exactness imaginable; and if you were taken here but for stealing a basket of eggs, you shall have your accuser sent down to see if he knows you.

This terrified him a little for awhile, and kept him honest for three or four days; but it was but for a few days indeed, for he played a great many rogue's tricks without me, till at last he came to his end without me too, though it was not till many years after, as you shall hear in its order; but as these exploits are no part of my story, but of his, whose life and exploits are sufficient to make a volume larger than this, by itself; so I shall omit everything but what I was particularly concerned in, during this tedious journey.

From Ware we travelled to Cambridge, though that was not our direct road; the occasion was this; in our way, going through a village called Puckeridge, we baited at an inn, at the sign of the Falcon, and while we were there, a countryman comes to the inn, and hangs his horse at the door, while he goes in to drink; we sat in the gateway, having called for a mug of beer, and drank it up. We had been talking with the hostler about the way to Scotland, and he had bid us ask the road to Royston; But, says he, there is a turning just here a little farther, you must not go that way, for that goes to Cambridge.

We had paid for our beer, and sat at the door only to rest us, when on the sudden comes a gentleman's coach to the door, and three or four horsemen; the horsemen rode into the yard, and the hostler was obliged to go in with them; says he to the captain, Young man, pray take hold of the horse (meaning the countryman's horse I mentioned above),

and take him out of the way, that the coach may come up. He did so, and beckoned me to follow him; we walked together to the turning: says he to me, Do you step before and turn up the lane, I'll overtake you; so I went on up the lane, and in a few minutes he was got up upon the horse and at my heels. Come, get up, says he, we will have a lift, if we don't get the horse by the bargain.

I made no difficulty to get up behind him, and away we went at a good round rate, it being a good strong horse. We lost no time for an hour's riding and more, by which time we thought we were out of the reach of being pursued; and as the countrymen, when he should miss his horse, would hear that we inquired the way to Royston, he would certainly pursue us that way, and not towards Cambridge. We went easier after the first hour's riding, and, coming through a town or two, we alighted by turns, and did not ride double through the villages.

Now, as it was impossible for the captain to pass by anything that he could lay his hand on, and not take it, so now having a horse to carry it off too, the temptation was the stronger. Going through a village, where a good housewife of the house had been washing, and hung her clothes out upon a hedge near the road, he could not help it, but got hold of a couple of good shirts, that were about half dry, and overtook me upon the spur, for I walked on before; I immediately got up behind, and away we galloped together as fast as the horse could well go. In this part of our expedition, his good luck or mine, carried us quite out of the road; and having seen none to ask the way of, we lost ourselves, and wandered I know not how many miles to the right hand, till, partly by that means, and partly by the occasion following, we came quite into the coach road to Cambridge, from London, by Bishop-Stratford. The particular occasion that made me wander on was thus; the country was all open corn-fields, no enclosures; when, being upon a little rising ground, I bade him stop the horse, for I would get down, and walk a little to ease my legs, being tired with riding so long behind without stirrups; when I was down and looked a little about me, I saw plainly the great white road, which we should have gone, at near two miles from us.

On a sudden, looking a little back to my left, upon that

road, I saw four or five horsemen, riding full speed, some a good way before the other, and hurrying on, as people in a full pursuit.

It immediately struck me; Ha! brother Jack, says I, get off the horse this moment, and ask why afterwards; so he jumps off: What is the matter? says he: The matter, says I, look yonder, it is well we have lost our way; do you see how they ride? they are pursuing us, you may depend upon it; either, says I, you are pursued from the last village for the two shirts, or from Puckeridge for the horse. He had so much presence of mind, that without my mentioning it to him, he puts back the horse behind a great white thorn-bush, which grew just by him; so they could by no means see the horse, which, we being just at the top of the hill, they might otherwise have done, and so have pursued that way at a venture.

But as it was impossible for them to see the horse, so was it as impossible for them to see us at that distance, who sat down on the ground to look at them the more securely.

The road winding about, we saw them a great way, and they rode as fast as they could make their horses go. When we found they were gone quite out of sight, we mounted, and made the best of our way also; and indeed, though we were two upon one horse, yet we abated no speed where the way would admit of it, not inquiring of anybody the way to anywhere, till, after about two hours' riding, we came to a town, which, upon inquiry, they called Chesterford; and here we stopped, and asked not our way to any place, but whither that road went, and were told it was the coach road to Cambridge; also that it was the way to Newmarket, to St. Edmund's-bury, to Norwich and Yarmouth, to Lynn, and to Ely, and the like.

We stayed here a good while, believing ourselves secure; and afterwards, towards evening, went forward to a place called Bournbridge, where the road to Cambridge turns away out of the road to Newmarket, and where there are but two houses only, both of them being inns. Here the captain says to me, Hark ye, you see we are pursued towards Cambridge, and shall be stopped if we go thither; now Newmarket is but ten miles off, and there we may be safe, and perhaps get an opportunity to do some business.

Look ye, Jack, said I talk no more of doing business, for

I will not join with you in anything of that kind; I would fain get you to Scotland, before you get a halter about your neck; I will not have you hanged in England, if I can help it, and therefore I won't go to Newmarket, unless you will promise me to take no false steps there. Well, says he, if I must not, then I won't; but I hope you will let us get another horse, won't you, that we may travel faster? No, says I, I won't agree to that; but if you will let me send this horse back fairly, I will tell you how we shall hire horses afterwards, for one stage, or two, and then take them as far as we please: it is only sending a letter to the owner to send for him, and then, if we are stopped, it can do us but little hurt.

You are a wary, politic gentleman, says the captain, but I say we are better as we are; for we are out of all danger of being stopped on the way, after we are gone from this place.

We had not parleyed thus long, but, though in the dead of the night, came a man to the other inn door; for, as I said above, there are two inns at that place, and called for a pot of beer, but the people were all in bed, and would not rise; he asked them if they had seen two fellows come that way upon one horse. The man said he had, that they went by in the afternoon, and asked the way to Cambridge, but did not stop only to drink one mug. O! says he, are they gone to Cambridge? Then I'll be with them quickly. I was awake in a little garret of the next inn, where we lodged; and hearing the fellow call at the door, got up, and went to the window, having some uneasiness at every noise I heard; and by that means heard the whole story. Now, the case is plain, our hour was not come, our fate had determined other things for us, and we were to be reserved for it; the matter was thus: when we first came to Bournbridge, we called at the first house, and asked the way to Cambridge, drank a mug of beer, and went on, and they might see us turn off to go the way they directed; but, night coming on, and we being very weary, we thought we should not find the way; and we came back in the dusk of the evening, and went into the other house, being the first as we came back, as that, where we called before, was the first as we went forward.

You may be sure I was alarmed now, as indeed I had reason to be. The captain was in bed, and fast asleep, but I wakened him, and roused him with a noise that frighted

him enough; Rise, Jack, said I, we are both ruined, they are come after us hither. Indeed, I was wrong to terrify him at that rate; for he started, and jumped out of bed, and run directly to the window, not knowing where he was, and, not quite awake, was just going to jump out of the window, but I laid hold of him; What are you going to do? says I; I won't be taken, says he; let me alone, where are they?

This was all confusion; and he was so out of himself with the fright, and being overcome with sleep, that I had much to do to prevent his jumping out of the window. However, I held him fast, and thoroughly wakened him, and then all was well again, and he was presently composed.

Then I told him the story, and we sat together upon the bed-side, considering what we should do; upon the whole, as the fellow that called was apparently gone to Cambridge, we had nothing to fear, but to be quiet till daybreak, and then to mount and be gone.

Accordingly, as soon as day peeped we were up; and having happily informed ourselves of the road at the other house, and being told that the road to Cambridge turned off on the left hand, and that the road to Newmarket lay straight forward; I say, having learnt this, the captain told me he would walk away on foot towards Newmarket; and so, when I came to go out, I should appear as a single traveller; and accordingly he went out immediately, and away he walked, and he travelled so hard, that when I came to follow, I thought once that he had dropped me, for, though I rode hard, I got no sight of him for an hour. At length, having passed the great bank, called the devil's ditch, I found him, and took him up behind me, and we rode double till we came almost to the end of Newmarket town. Just at the hither house in the town stood a horse at a door, just as it was at Puckeridge. Now, says Jack, if the horse was at the other end of the town, I would have him, as sure as we had the other at Puckeridge; but it would not do; so he got down, and walked through the town on the right hand side of the way.

He had not got half through the town, but the horse, having some how or other got loose, came trotting gently on by himself, and nobody following him. The captain, an old soldier at such work, as soon as the horse was got a pretty way before him, and that he saw nobody followed,

sets up a run after the horse, and the horse hearing him follow, ran the faster; then the captain calls out, "Stop the horse!" and by this time the horse was got almost to the farther end of the town; the people of the house where he stood not missing him all the while.

Upon his calling out "Stop the horse!" the poor people of the town, such as were next at hand, ran from both sides the way, and stopped the horse for him, as readily as could be, and held him for him till he came up; he very gravely comes up to the horse, hits him a blow or two, and calls him dog for running away; gives the man twopence that catched him for him, mounts, and away he comes after me.

This was the oddest adventure that could have happened, for the horse stole the captain, the captain did not steal the horse. When he came up to me, Now, Colonel Jack, says he, what say you to good luck? would you have had me refused the horse, when he came so civilly to ask me to ride? No, no, said I, you have got this horse by your wit, not by design; and you may go on now I think; you are in a safer condition than I am, if we are taken.

The next question was, what road we should take? here were four ways before us, and we were alike strangers to them all; first, on the right hand, and at a little mile from the town, a great road went off to St. Edmund's-bury; straight on, but inclining afterwards to the right, lay the great road to Barton Mills, and Thetford, and so to Norwich; and full before us lay a great road also to Brandon and Lynn, and on the left, lay a less road to the city of Ely, and into the fens.

In short, as we knew not which road to take, nor which way to get into the great north road, which we had left, so we, by mere unguided chance took the way to Brandon, and so to Lynn. At Brand, or Brandon, we were told, that, passing over at a place called Downham-bridge, we might cross the fen country to Wisbeach; and from thence go along the bank of the river Nyne to Peterborough, and from thence to Stamford where we were in the northern road again; and likewise, that at Lynn we might go by the washes into Lincolnshire, and so might travel north. But, upon the whole, this was my rule, that, when we inquired the way to any particular place, to be sure we never took the road, but some other, which the accidental discourse we might have

should bring in; and thus we did here; for, having chiefly asked our way into the northern road, we resolved to go directly for Lynn.

CHAPTER VII.

FURTHER ADVENTURES—THERE IS NO PREVENTING MY COMRADE FROM EXERCISING HIS TRADE OF A THIEF—WE WITNESS A WHIPPING IN EDINBURGH—THE CAPTAIN TAKES FRENCH LEAVE—I RETURN MY HORSE TO THE PERSON FROM WHOM IT WAS STOLEN—LEARN TO READ AND WRITE—I AM HIRED AND CHEATED BY A SCOTTISH MASTER—MEET WITH THE CAPTAIN AGAIN—I ENLIST FOR A SOLDIER—WE DESERT—ADVENTURES THEREUPON.

We arrived here very easy and safe, and while we were considering of what way we should travel next, we found we were got to a point, and that there was no way now left, but that by the washes into Lincolnshire, and that was represented as very dangerous; so an opportunity offering of a man that was travelling over the fens, we took him for our guide, and went with him to Spalding, and from thence to a town called Deeping, and so to Stamford in Lincolnshire.

This is a large populous town, and it was market-day when we came to it; so we put in at a little house at the hither end of the town, and walked into the town.

Here it was not possible to restrain my captain from playing his feats of art, and my heart ached for him; I told him I would not go with him, for he would not promise to leave off, and I was so terribly concerned at the apprehensions of his venturous humour, that I would not so much as stir out of my lodging; but it was in vain to persuade him. He went into the market, and found a mountebank there, which was what he wanted. How he picked two pockets there in one quarter of an hour, and brought to our quarters a piece of new holland of eight or nine ells, a piece of stuff, and played three or four pranks more in less than two hours; and how afterward he robbed a doctor of physic, and yet came off clear in them; all this, I say, as above, belongs to his story, not mine.

I scolded heartily at him when he came back, and told him he would certainly ruin himself, and me too, before he left

off, and threatened in so many words, that I would leave him, and go back, and carry the horse to Puckeridge, where we borrowed it, and so go to London by myself.

He promised amendment; but, as we resolved (now we were in the great road) to travel by night, so it being not yet night, he gives me the slip again; and was not gone half an hour, but he comes back with a gold watch in his hand: Come, says he, why an't you ready? I am ready to go as soon as you will; and with that he pulls out the gold watch. I was amazed at such a thing as that in a country town; but it seems there were prayers at one of the churches in the evening, and he, placing himself as the occasion directed, found the way to be so near a lady as to get it from her side, and walked off with it unperceived.

The same night we went away, by moonlight, after having the satisfaction to hear the watch cried, and ten guineas offered for it again; he would have been glad of the ten guineas instead of the watch; but durst not venture carry it home. Well, says I, you are afraid, and indeed you have reason; give it me, I will venture to carry it again; but he would not let me; but told me, that when he came into Scotland we might sell anything there without danger, which was true indeed, for there they asked us no questions.

We set out, as I said, in the evening by moonlight, and travelled hard, the road being very plain and large, till we came to Grantham, by which time it was about two in the morning, and all the town, as it were, dead asleep; so we went on for Newark, where we reached about eight in the morning, and there we lay down and slept most of the day; and by this sleeping so continually in the day-time, I kept him from doing a great deal of mischief, which he would otherwise have done.

From Newark, we took advice of one that was accidentally comparing the roads, and we concluded that the road by Nottingham would be the best for us; so we turned out of the great road, and went up the side of the Trent to Nottingham. Here he played his pranks again in a manner, that it was the greatest wonder imaginable to me that he was not surprised, and yet he came off clear; and now he had got so many bulky goods, that he bought him a portmanteau to carry them in. It was in vain for me to offer to restrain him any more; so after this he went on his own way.

At Nottingham, I say, he had such success as made us the hastier to be going than otherwise we would have been, lest we should have been baulked, and should be laid hold of; from thence we left the road, which leads to the north again, went away by Mansfield, into Scarsdale in Yorkshire.

I shall take up no more of my own story with his pranks; they very well merit to be told by themselves, but I shall observe only what relates to our journey. In a word, I dragged him along as fast as I could, till I came to Leeds in Yorkshire. Here, though it be a large and populous town, yet he could make nothing of it, neither had he any success at Wakefield; and he told me, in short, that the north-country people were certainly all thieves. Why so? said I, the people seem to be just as other people are: No, no, says he, they have their eyes so about them, and are all so sharp, they look upon everybody that comes near them to be a pick-pocket, or else they would never stand so upon their guard; and then again, says he, they are so poor, there is but little to be got; and I am afraid, says he, the farther we go north, we shall find it worse. Well, said I, what do you infer from thence? I argue from thence, says he, that we shall do nothing there, and I had as good go back into the south and be hanged, as into the north to be starved.

Well, we came at length to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Here, on a market-day, was a great throng of people, and several of the townspeople going to market to buy provisions; and here he played his pranks, cheated a shopkeeper of 15*l.* or 16*l.* in goods, and got clear away with them; stole a horse, and sold that he came upon, and played so many pranks that I was quite frighted for him; I say for him, for I was not concerned for myself, having never stirred out of the house where I lodged, at least not with him, nor without some or other with me belonging to the inn, that might give an account of me.

Nor did I use this caution in vain; for he had made himself so public by his rogueries, that he was waylaid everywhere to be taken, and had he not artfully first given out that he was come from Scotland, and was going toward London, inquiring that road, and the like, which amused his pursuers for the first day, he had been taken, and in all probability had been hanged there; but, by that artifice, he got half a day's time of them; and yet, as it was, he was

put so to it, that he was fain to plunge, horse and all, into the river Tweed, and swim over, and thereby made his escape. It was true that he was before upon Scots' ground (as they call it), and consequently they had no power to have carried him off, if anybody had opposed them; yet, as they were in a full chase after him, could they have come up with him, they would have run the risk of the rest, and they could but have delivered him up, if they had been questioned about it. However, as he got over the Tweed, and was landed safe, they could neither follow him, the water being too high at the usual place of going over, nor could they have attempted to have brought him away if they had taken him. The place where he took the river was where there is a ford below Kelso, but, the water being up, the ford was not passable, and he had no time to go to the ferry-boat, which is about a furlong off, opposite to the town.

Having thus made his escape, he went to Kelso, where he had appointed me to come after him.

I followed with a heavy heart, expecting every hour to meet him upon the road in the custody of the constables, and such people, or to hear of him in the gaol; but when I came to a place on the border, called Woller-haugh-head, there I understood how he had been chased, and how he made his escape.

When I came to Kelso, he was easy enough to be found; for his having desperately swam the Tweed, a rapid and large river, made him much talked of, though it seems they had not heard of the occasion of it, nor anything of his character; for he had wit enough to conceal all that, and live as retired as he could till I came to him.

I was not so much rejoiced at his safety, as I was provoked at his conduct; and the more, for that I could not find he had yet the least notion of his having been void of common sense with respect to his circumstances, as well as contrary to what he promised me. However, as there was no beating anything into his head by words, I only told him, that I was glad he was at last gotten into a place of safety, and I asked him then how he intended to manage himself in that country? He said in a few words, he did not know yet, he doubted the people were very poor; but if they had any money he was resolved to have some of it.

But do you know too, says I, that they are the severest

people upon criminals of your kind in the world? He did not value that, he said, in his blunt short way, he would venture it; upon this, I told him that, seeing it was so, and he would run such ventures, I would take my leave of him, and be gone back to England. He seemed sullen, or rather it was the roughness of his untractable disposition; he said I might do what I would, he would do as he found opportunity; however, we did not part immediately, but went on towards the capital city. On the road we found too much poverty, and too few people, to give him room to expect any advantage in his way; and though he had his eyes about him as sharp as a hawk, yet he saw plainly there was nothing to be done; for as to the men, they did not seem to have much money about them; and for the women, their dress was such, that had they any money, or indeed any pockets, it was impossible to come at them; for, wearing large plaids about them and down to their knees, they were wrapped up so close, that there was no coming to make the least attempt of that kind.

Kelso was indeed a good town, and had abundance of people in it; and yet, though he stayed one Sunday there, and saw the church, which is very large and thronged with people; yet, as he told me, there was not one woman to be seen in all the church with any other dress than a plaid, except in two pews, which belonged to some noblemen, and who, when they came out, were so surrounded with footmen and servants that there was no coming near them, any more than there was any coming near the king surrounded by his guards.

We set out therefore with this discouragement, which I was secretly glad of, and went forward to Edinburgh. All the way thither we went through no considerable town, and it was but very coarse travelling for us, who were strangers; for we met with waters which were very dangerous to pass, by reason of hasty rains, at a place called Lauderdale, and where my captain was really in danger of drowning, his horse being driven down by the stream, and fell under him, by which he wetted and spoiled his stolen goods, that he brought from Newcastle, and which he had kept dry strangely, by holding them up in his arms when he swam the Tweed; but here it wanted but little that he and his horse had been lost, not so much by the depth of the water, as the fury of

the current; but he had a proverb in his favour, and he got out of the water, though with difficulty enough, not being born to be drowned, as I shall observe afterwards in its place.

We came to Edinburgh, the third day from Kelso, having stopped at an inn one whole day, at a place called Soutra-hill, to dry our goods and refresh ourselves. We were oddly saluted at Edinburgh, the next day after we came thither; my captain having a desire to walk, and look about him, asked me if I would go and see the town? I told him yes; so we went out, and coming through a gate, that they call the Nether-bow, into the great High-street, which went up to the cross, we were surprised to see it thronged with an infinite number of people. Ay (says my captain), this will do; however, as I had made him promise to make no adventures that day, otherwise I told him I would not go out with him, so I held him by the sleeve, and would not let him stir from me.

Then we came up to the market-cross, and there, besides the great number of people who passed and repassed, we saw a great parade, or kind of meeting, like an exchange of gentlemen, of all ranks and qualities, and this encouraged my captain again, and he pleased himself with that sight.

It was while we were looking, and wondering at what we saw here, that we were surprised with a sight which we little expected; we observed the people running on a sudden, as to see some strange thing just coming along, and strange it was indeed; for we saw two men naked from the waist upwards, run by us as swift as the wind, and we imagined nothing but that it was two men running a race for some mighty wager. On a sudden we found two long small ropes or lines, which hung down at first, pulled straight, and the two racers stopped, and stood still, one close by the other. We could not imagine what this meant, but the reader may judge at our surprise, when we found a man follow after, who had the ends of both those lines in his hands, and who, when he came up to them, gave each of them two frightful lashes with a wire whip, or lash, which he held in the other hand; and then the two poor naked wretches run on again to the length of their line or tether, where they waited for the like salutation; and in this manner they danced the length of the whole street, which is about half a mile.

This was a dark prospect to my captain, and put him in mind, not only of what he was to expect if he made a slip in the way of his profession in this place, but also of what he had suffered, when he was but a boy, at the famous place called Bridewell.

But this was not all; for, as we saw the execution, so we were curious to examine into the crime too; and we asked a young fellow who stood near us, what the two men had done, for which they suffered that punishment? The fellow, an unhappy ill-natured Scotchman, perceived by our speech that we were Englishmen, and by our question that we were strangers, told us, with a malicious wit, that they were two Englishmen; and that they were whipped so for picking pockets, and other petty thieveries, and that they were afterwards to be sent away over the border into England.

Now this was every word of it false, and was only formed by his nimble invention to insult us as Englishmen; for when we inquired farther, they were both Scotchmen, and were thus scourged for the usual offences, for which we give the like punishment in England; and the man who held the line and scourged them, was the city hangman; who (by the way) is there an officer of note, has a constant salary, and is a man of substance; and not only so, but a most dexterous fellow in his office, and makes a great deal of money of his employment.

This sight, however, was very shocking to us; and my captain turned to me, Come, says he, let us go away, I won't stay here any longer. I was glad to hear him say so, but did not think he had meant or intended what he said: however, we went back to our quarters, and kept pretty much within, only that in the evenings we walked about; but even then my captain found no employment, no encouragement; two or three times indeed, he made a prize of some mercery and millinery goods; but when he had them he knew not what to do with them, so that, in short, he was forced to be honest in spite of his good will to be otherwise.

We remained here about a month, when, on a sudden, my captain was gone, horse and all, and I knew nothing what was become of him; nor did I ever see or hear of him for eighteen months after, nor did he so much as leave the least notice for me, either whither he was gone, or whether he would return to Edinburgh again, or no.

I took his leaving me very heinously, not knowing what to do with myself, being a stranger in the place; and, on the other hand, my money abated apace too. I had for the most part of this time my horse upon my hands to keep; and as horses yield but a sorry price in Scotland, I found no opportunity to make much of him; and, on the other hand, I had a secret resolution, if I had gone back to England, to have restored him to the owner, at Puckeridge, by Ware; and so I should have wronged him of nothing but the use of him for so long a time; but I found an occasion to answer all my designs about the horse to advantage.

There came a man to the stabler, so they call the people at Edinburgh that take in horses to keep, and wanted to know if he could hear of any returned horses for England. My landlord, so we called him, came bluntly to me one day, and asked me, If my horse was my own? It was an odd question, as my circumstances stood, and puzzled me at first; and I asked why, and what was the matter? Because, says he, if it be a hired horse in England, as is often the case with Englishmen who come to Scotland, I could help you to send it back, and get you something for riding; so he expressed himself.

I was very glad of the occasion; and, in short, took security there of the person, for delivering the horse safe and sound, and had 15*s.* sterling for the riding him. Upon this agreement, I gave order to leave the horse at the Falcon, at Puckeridge, and where I heard, many years after, that he was honestly left, and that the owner had him again, but had nothing for the loan of him.

Being thus eased of the expense of my horse, and having nothing at all to do, I began to consider with myself what would become of me, and what I could turn my hand to. I had not much diminished my stock of money, for, though I was all the way so wary that I would not join with my captain in his desperate attempts, yet I made no scruple to live at his expense, which, as I came out of England only to keep him company, had been but just, had I not known that all he had to spend upon me was what he robbed honest people of, and that I was all that while a receiver of stolen goods; but I was not come so far then as to scruple that part at all.

In the next place, I was not so anxious about my money

running low, because I knew what a reserve I had made at London; but still I was very willing to have engaged in any honest employment for a livelihood; for I was sick indeed of the wandering life which I had led, and was resolved to thieve no more; but then two or three things which I had offered me I lost, because I could not write or read.

This afflicted me a great while very much; but the stabler, as I have called him, delivered me from my anxiety that way, by bringing me to an honest, but a poor young man, who undertook to teach me both to write and read, and in a little time too, and for a small expense, if I would take pains at it. I promised all possible diligence, and to work I went with it, but found the writing much more difficult to me than the reading.

However, in half a year's time, or thereabouts, I could read and write too, tolerably well, insomuch that I began to think I was now fit for business; and I got by it into the service of a certain officer of the customs, who employed me for a time, but as he set me to do little but pass and repass between Leeds and Edinburgh, with the accounts which he kept for the farmers of the customs there, leaving me to live at my own expense till my wages should be due, I run out the little money I had left, in clothes and subsistence, and a little before the year's end, when I was to have 12*l.* English money, truly my master was turned out of his place; and, which was worse, having been charged with some misapplications, was obliged to take shelter in England, and so we that were servants, for there were three of us, were left to shift for ourselves.

This was a hard case for me in a strange place, and I was reduced by it to the last extremity. I might have gone for England, an English ship being there, the master of which proffered me to give me my passage (upon telling him my distress), and to take my word for the payment of 10*s.* when I came there; but my captain appeared just then under new circumstances, which obliged him not to go away, and I was loath to leave him; it seems we were yet farther to take our fate together.

I have mentioned that he left me, and that I saw him no more for eighteen months. His ramble and adventures were many in that time; he went to Glasgow, played some remarkable pranks there, escaped almost miraculously from

the gallows, got over to Ireland, wandered about there, turned raparee, and did some villanous things there, and escaped from Londonderry, over to the Highlands in the north of Scotland; and about a month before I was left destitute at Leith by my master, behold! my noble Captain Jack came in there, on board the ferry boat from Fife, being, after all adventures and successes, advanced to the dignity of a foot soldier in a body of recruits raised in the north for the regiment of Douglas.

After my disaster, being reduced almost as low as my captain, I found no better shift before me, at least for the present, than to enter myself a soldier too; and thus we were ranked together, with each of us a musket upon our shoulders, and, I confess, that thing did not sit so ill upon me as I thought at first it would have done; for, though I fared hard, and lodged ill (for the last, especially, is the fate of poor soldiers in that part of the world), yet to me that had been used to lodge on the ashes in the glass-house, this was no great matter; I had a secret satisfaction at being now under no necessity of stealing, and living in fear of a prison, and of the lash of the hangman; a thing which, from the time I saw it in Edinburgh, was so terrible to me, that I could not think of it without horror; and it was an inexpressible ease to my mind, that I was now in a certain way of living, which was honest, and which I could say was not unbecoming a gentleman.

Whatever was my satisfaction in that part, yet other circumstances did not equally concur to make this life suit me; for after we had been about six months in this figure, we were informed that the recruits were all to march for England, and to be shipped off at Newcastle, or at Hull, to join the regiment, which was then in Flanders.

I should tell you, that, before this, I was extremely delighted with the life of a soldier, and I took the exercise so naturally, that the serjeant that taught us to handle our arms, seeing me so ready at it asked me if I had never carried arms before. I told him, no; at which he swore, though jesting, They call you colonel, says he, and I believe you will be a colonel, or you must be some colonel's bastard, or you would never handle your arms as you do, at once or twice showing.

This pleased me extremely, and encouraged me, and I was

mightily taken with the life of a soldier; but when the captain came and told me the news, that we were to march for England, and to be shipped off for Flanders at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, I was surprised very much, and new thoughts began to come in my mind; as, first, my captain's condition was particular, for he durst not appear publicly at Newcastle, as he must have done if he had marched with the battalion (for they were a body of above four hundred, and therefore called themselves a battalion, though we were but recruits, and belonged to the several companies abroad); I say, he must have marched with them, and been publicly seen, in which case he would have been apprehended and delivered up. In the next place, I remembered that I had almost 100*l.* in money in London, and if it should have been asked all the soldiers in the regiment, which of them would go to Flanders, a private centinel, if they had 100*l.* in their pockets, I believe none of them would answer in the affirmative; a 100*l.* being at that time sufficient to buy colours in any new regiment, though not in that regiment, which was on an old establishment. This whetted my ambition, and I dreamt of nothing but being a gentleman officer, as well as a gentleman soldier.

These two circumstances concurring, I began to be very uneasy, and very unwilling in my thoughts to go over a poor musqueteer into Flanders, to be knocked on the head at the tune of 3*s.* 6*d.* a week. While I was daily musing on the circumstances of being sent away, as above, and considering what to do, my captain comes to me one evening; Hark ye, Jack, says he, I must speak with you; let us take a walk in the fields a little out of from the houses. We were quartered at a place called Park-End, near the town of Dunbar, about twenty miles from Berwick-upon-Tweed, and about sixteen miles from the river Tweed, the nearest way.

We walked together here, and talked seriously upon the matter; the captain told me how his case stood, and that he durst not march with the battalion into Newcastle; that if he did he should be taken out of the ranks and tried for his life, and that I knew as well as he: I could go privately to Newcastle, says he, and go through the town well enough, but to go publicly, is to run into the jaws of destruction. Well, says I, that is very true; but what will you do? Do! says he, do you think I am so bound by honour, as a gentle-

man soldier, that I will be hanged for them? No, no, says he, I am resolved to be gone, and I would have you go with us; said I, What do you mean by us? Why, here is another honest fellow, an Englishman also, says he, that is resolved to desert too, and he has been a long while in the service, and says he knows how we shall be used abroad, and he will not go to Flanders, says he, not he.

Why, says I, you will be shot to death for deserters if you are taken, and they will send out scouts for you in the morning all over the country, so that you will certainly fall into their hands. As for that, says he, my comrade is thoroughly acquainted with the way, and he has undertaken to bring us to the banks of the Tweed, before they can come up with us, and when we are on the other side of the Tweed, they can't take us up.

And when would you go away? says I.

This minute, says he; no time to be lost; 'tis a fine moonshining night.

I have none of my baggage, says I; let me go back and fetch my linen, and other things.

Your linen is not much, I suppose, says he, and we shall easily get more in England the old way.

No, says I, no more of your old ways; it has been owing to those old ways that we are now in such a strait.

Well, well, says he, the old ways are better than this starving life of a gentleman, as we call it.

But, says I, we have no money in our pockets, how shall we travel?

I have a little, says the captain; enough to help us on to Newcastle, and if we can get none by the way, we will get some collier ship to take us in, and carry us to London by sea.

I like that the best of all the measures you have laid yet, said I; and so I consented to go, and went off with him immediately. The cunning rogue having lodged his comrade a mile off under the hills, had dragged me by talking with him, by little and little, that way, till just when I consented, he was in sight, and he said, Look, there's my comrade! who I knew presently, having seen him among the men.

Being thus gotten under the hills, and a mile off the way, and the day just shut in, we kept on apace, resolving, if

possible, to get out of the reach of our pursuers, before they should miss us, or know anything of our being gone.

We plyed our time so well, and travelled so hard, that by five o'clock in the morning we were at a little village, whose name I forget; but they told us that we were within eight miles of the Tweed; and that as soon as we should be over the river, we were on English ground.

We refreshed a little here, but marched on with but little stay; however, it was half an hour past eight in the morning before we reached the Tweed, so it was at least twelve miles, when they told us it was but eight. Here we overtook two more of the same regiment, who had deserted from Haddington, where another part of the recruits were quartered.

Those were Scotchmen, and very poor, having not one penny in their pockets; and had no more when they made their escape but 8*s*. between them; and when they saw us, whom they knew to be of the same regiment, they took us to be pursuers, and that we came to lay hold of them; upon which they stood upon their defence, having the regiment swords on, as we had also, but none of the mounting or clothing; for we were not to receive the clothing till we came to the regiment in Flanders.

It was not long before we made them understand that we were in the same circumstances with themselves, and so we soon became one company; and after resting some time on the English side of the river (for we were heartily tired, and the others were as much fatigued as we were),—I say, after resting awhile, we set forwards towards Newcastle, whither we resolved to go to get our passage by sea to London; for we had not money to hold us out any farther.

Our money was ebbed very low; for, though I had one piece of gold in my pocket, which I kept reserved for the last extremity, yet it was but half-a-guinea, and my captain had bore all our charges as far as his money would go, so that when we came to Newcastle we had but sixpence left in all to help ourselves, and the two Scots had begged their way all along the road.

We contrived to come into Newcastle in the dusk of the evening, and even then we durst not venture into the public part of the town, but made down towards the river, something below the town, where some glass-houses stand. Here

we knew not what to do with ourselves; but, guided by our fate, we put a good face upon the matter, and went into an ale-house, sat down, and called for a pint of beer.

The house was kept by a womau only, that is to say, we saw no other; and, as she appeared very frank, and entertained us cheerfully, we at last told our condition, and asked her if she could not help us to some kind master of a collier, that would give us a passage to London by sea. The subtle devil, who immediately found us proper fish for her hook, gave us the kindest words in the world, and told us she was heartily sorry she had not seen us one day sooner; that there was a collier-master, of her particular acquaintance, that went away but with the morning tide, that the ship was fallen down to Shields, but she believed was hardly over the bar yet, and she would send to his house and see if he was gone on board, for sometimes the masters do not go away till a tide after the ship, and she was sure if he was not gone she could prevail with him to take us all in; but then she was afraid we must go on board immediately, the same night.

We begged her to send to his house, for we knew not what to do, and if she could oblige him to take us on board, we did not care what time of night it was; for, as we had no money, we had no lodging, and we wanted nothing but to be on board.

We looked upon this as a mighty favour, that she sent to the master's house, and to our greater joy, she brought us word about an hour after that he was not gone, and was at a tavern in the town, whither his boy had been to fetch him; and that he had sent word he would call there in the way home.

This was all in our favour, and we were extremely pleased with it. About an hour after, the landlady being in the room with us, her maid brings us word the master was below; so down she goes to him, telling us she would go and tell him our case, and see to persuade him to take us all on board. After some time she comes up with him, and brings him into the room to us. Where are these honest gentlemen soldiers, says he, that are in such distress? We stood all up, and paid our respects to him. Well, gentlemen, and is all your money spent?

Indeed it is, said one of our company, and we shall be

infinitely obliged to you, sir, if you will give us a passage; we will be very willing to do anything we can in the ship, though we are not seamen.

Why, says he, were none of you ever at sea in your lives?

No, says we, not one of us.

You will be able to do me no service then, says he, for you will be all sick: Well, however, says he, for my good landlady's sake here, I'll do it; but are you all ready to go on board, for I go on board this very night?

Yes, sir, says we again, we are ready to go this minute.

No, no, says he, very kindly, we'll drink together; come, landlady, says he, make these honest gentlemen a sneaker of punch.

We looked at one another, for we knew we had no money, and he perceived it; Come, come, says he, don't be concerned at your having no money: my landlady here and I never part with dry lips. Come, goodwife, says he, make the punch as I bid you.

We thanked him, and said, God bless you, noble captain, a hundred times over, being overjoyed with such good luck. While we were drinking the punch, he calls the landlady; Come, says he, I'll step home and take my things, and bid them good bye, and order the boat to come at high water and take me up here; and pray, goodwife, says he, get me something for supper; sure if I can give these honest men their passage, I may give them a bit of victuals too; it may be they han't had much for dinner.

With this away he went, and in a little while we heard the jack agoing, and one of us going down stairs for a spy, brought us word there was a good leg of mutton at the fire. In less than an hour our captain came again, and came up to us, and blamed us that we had not drank all the punch out; Come, says he, don't be bashful, when that is out we can have another; when I am obliging poor men, I love to do it handsomely.

We drank on, and drank the punch out, and more was brought up, and he pushed it about apace; and then came up a leg of mutton, and I need not say that we eat heartily, being told several times that we should pay nothing. After supper was done, he bids my landlady ask if the boat was come? And she brought word no, it was not high water by a good deal; No! says he, well, then, give us some more

punch; so more punch was brought in, and, as was afterwards confessed, something was put into it, or more brandy than ordinary, and by that time the punch was drunk out, we were all very drunk, and, as for me, I was asleep.

About the time that was out, we were told the boat was come; so we tumbled out, almost over one another, into the boat, and away we went, and our captain in the boat. Most of us, if not all, fell asleep, till after some time, though how much, or how far going, we knew not, the boat stopped, and we were waked, and told we were at the ship's side, which was true; and with much help and holding us, for fear we should fall overboard, we were all gotten into the ship. All I remember of it was this, that as soon as we were on board, our captain, as we called him, called out thus: Here, boatswain, take care of these gentlemen, and give them good cabins, and let them turn in and go to sleep, for they are very weary; and so indeed we were, and very drunk too, being the first time I had ever drank punch in my life.

CHAPTER VIII.

WE ARE KIDNAPPED, AND CARRIED ON BOARD SHIP BY A VIRGINIA CAPTAIN—MAKE THE COAST OF VIRGINIA IN 32 DAYS—CAPTAIN JACK MAKES HIS ESCAPE—A PEEP INTO FUTURITY—I AM SOLD ALONG WITH THE OTHERS TO A RICH PLANTER—MY MASTER HOLDS A LONG CONVERSATION WITH ME, AND IN CONSEQUENCE OF MY GOOD BEHAVIOUR PUTS ME IN A PLACE OF TRUST.

Well, care was taken of us according to order, and we were put into very good cabins, where we were sure to go immediately to sleep. In the mean time, the ship, which was indeed just ready to go, and only on notice given had come to an anchor for us at Shields, weighed, stood over the bar, and went off to sea; and when we waked, and began to peep abroad, which was not till near noon the next day, we found ourselves a great way at sea; the land in sight, indeed, but at a great distance, and all going merrily on for London, as we understood it. We were very well used, and well satisfied with our condition for about three days, when we began to inquire whether we were not almost come, and how

much longer it would be before we should come into the river. What river? says one of the men. Why, the Thames, says my Captain Jack. The Thames! says the seaman, What do you mean by that? What, han't you had time enough to be sober yet? so Captain Jack said no more, but looked about him like a fool; when a while after, some other of us asked the like question, and the seamen, who knew nothing of the cheat, began to smell a trick; and turning to the other Englishman that came with us, Pray, says he, where do you fancy you are going, that you ask so often about it? Why to London, says he, where should we be going? We agreed with the captain to carry us to London.

Not with the captain, says he, I dare say; poor men, you are all cheated; and I thought so when I saw you come aboard with that kidnapping rogue Gilliman; poor men! adds he, you are all betrayed; Why, you are going to Virginia, and the ship is bound to Virginia.

The Englishman falls a storming and raving like a madman, and we gathering round him, let any man guess, if they can, what was our surprise, and how we were confounded, when we were told how it was; in short, we drew our swords, and began to lay about us, and made such a noise and hurry in the ship, that at last the seamen were obliged to call out for help. The captain commanded us to be disarmed in the first place, which was not however done without giving and receiving some wounds, and afterwards he caused us to be brought to him into the great cabin.

Here he talked very calmly to us, that he was really very sorry for what had befallen us; that he perceived we had been trepanned, and that the fellow who had brought us on board was a rogue, that was employed by a sort of wicked merchants not unlike himself; that he supposed he had been represented to us as captain of the ship, and asked us if it was not so? We told him yes, and gave him a large account of ourselves, and how we came to the woman's house to inquire for some master of a collier to get a passage to London, and that this man engaged to carry us to London in his own ship, and the like, as is related above.

He told us he was very sorry for it, and he had no hand in it; but it was out of his power to help us, and let us know very plainly what our condition was; namely, that we were put on board his ship as servants to be delivered at Mary-

land to such a man, whom he named to us; but that, however, if we would be quiet and orderly in the ship, he would use us well in the passage, and take care we should be used well when we came there, and that he would do anything for us that lay in his power; but if we were unruly and refractory, we could not expect but he must take such measures as to oblige us to be satisfied; and that, in short, we must be handcuffed, carried down between the decks and kept as prisoners, for it was his business to take care that no disturbance must be in the ship.

My captain raved like a madmam, swore at the captain, told him he would not fail to cut his throat either on board, or ashore, whenever he came within his reach; and that if he could not do it now, he would do it after he came to England again, if ever he durst show his face there again; for he might depend upon it, if he was carried away to Virginia, he should find his way to England again; that, if it was twenty years after, he would have satisfaction of him. Well, young man, says the captain, smiling, 'tis very honestly said, and then I must take care of you while I have you here, and afterwards I must take care of myself. Do your worst, says Jack, boldly, I'll pay you home for it one time or other. I must venture that, young man, says he, still calmly, but for the present you and I must talk a little; so he bids the boatswain, who stood near him, secure him, which he did; I spoke to him to be easy and patient, and that the captain had no hand in our misfortune.

No hand in it! d——n him, said he aloud, do you think he is not confederate in this villany? Would any honest man receive innocent people on board his ship and not inquire of their circumstances, but carry them away and not speak to them? and now he knows how barbarously we are treated, why does he not set us on shore again; I tell you he is a villain, and none but him; why does he not complete his villany and murder us, and then he will be free from our revenge? but nothing else shall ever deliver him from my hands, but sending us to the d—l, or going thither himself; and I am honester in telling him so fairly, than he has been to me, and am in no passion any more than he is.

The captain was, I say, a little shocked at his boldness, for he talked a great deal more of the same kind, with a great deal of spirit and fire, and yet without any disorder in his

temper; indeed I was surprised at it, for I never had heard him talk so well, and so much to the purpose in my life. The captain was, I say, a little shocked at it; however, he talked very handsomely to him, and told him, Look ye, young man, I bear with you the more, because I am sensible your case is very hard; and yet I cannot allow your threatening me neither, and you oblige me by that to be severer with you than I intended; however, I will do nothing to you, but what your threatening my life makes necessary. The boatswain called out to have him to the geers, as they called it, and to have him taste the cat-o'-nine-tails; all which were terms we did not understand till afterwards, when we were told he should have been whipped and pickled, for they said it was not to be suffered. But the captain said, No no, the young man has been really injured, and has reason to be very much provoked; but I have not injured him, says he. And then he protested he had no hand in it, that he was put on board, and we also, by the owners' agent, and for their account; that it was true, that they did always deal in servants, and carried a great many every voyage; but that it was no profit to him as commander; but they were always put on board by the owners, and that it was none of his business to inquire about them; and, to prove that he was not concerned in it, but was very much troubled at so base a thing, and that he would not be instrumental to carry us away against our wills, if the wind and the weather would permit, he would set us on shore again, though, as it blowed then, the wind being at south-west, and a hard gale, and that they were already as far as the Orkneys, it was impossible.

But the captain was the same man; he told him, that let the wind blow how it would, he ought not to carry us away against our consents; and as to his pretences of his owners and the like, it was saying of nothing to him, for it was he, the captain, that carried us away, and that whatever rogue trepanned us on board (now he knew it), he ought no more to carry us away than murder us; and that he demanded to be set on shore, or else he, the captain, was a thief and a murderer.

The captain continued mild still; and then I put in with an argument, that had like to have brought us all back, if the weather had not really hindered it; which, when I came to understand sea affairs better, I found was indeed so, and

that it had been impossible. I told the captain that I was sorry that my brother was so warm, but that our usage was villanous, which he could not deny. Then I took up the air of what my habit did not agree with; I told him, that we were not people to be sold for slaves, that though we had the misfortune to be in a circumstance that obliged us to conceal ourselves, having disguised ourselves, to get out of the army, as being not willing to go into Flanders, yet that we were men of substance, and able to discharge ourselves from the service when it came to that; and, to convince him of it, I told him I would give him sufficient security to pay 20*l.* apiece for my brother and myself; and in as short time as we could send from the place he should put into London, and receive a return. And, to show that I was able to do it, I pulled out my bill for 94*l.* from the gentleman of the Custom-house, and who, to my infinite satisfaction, he knew as soon as he saw the bill. He was astonished at this; and, lifting up his hands, By what witchcraft, says he, were you brought hither!

As to that, says I, we have told you the story, and we add nothing to it; but we insist upon it that you will do this justice to us now. Well, says he, I am very sorry for it, but I cannot answer putting back the ship; neither if I could, says he, is it practicable to be done.

While this discourse lasted, the two Scotchmen and the other Englishman were silent; but as I seemed to acquiesce, the Scotchmen began to talk to the same purpose, which I need not repeat, and had not mentioned, but for a merry passage that followed. After the Scotchmen had said all they could, and the captain still told them they must submit,—And will you then carry us to Virginia? Yes, says the captain. And will we be sold, says the Scotchman, when we come there? Yes, says the captain. Why then, sir, says the Scotchman, the devil will have you at the hinder end of the bargain. Say you so, says the captain, smiling, well, well, let the devil and I alone to agree about that: do you be quiet, and behave civilly as you should do, and you shall be used as kindly, both here and there too, as I can. The poor Scotchmen could say little to it, nor I, nor any of us; for we saw there was no remedy, but to leave the devil and the captain to agree among themselves, as the captain had said, as to the honesty of it.

Thus, in short, we were all, I say, obliged to acquiesce,

but my captain, who was so much the more obstinate when he found that I had a fund to make such an offer upon; nor could all my persuasions prevail with him. The captain of the ship and he had many pleasant dialogues about this in the rest of the voyage, in which Jack never treated him with any language but that of kidnapper, and villain, nor talked of anything but of taking his revenge of him; but I omit that part, though very diverting, as being no part of my own story.

In short, the wind continued to blow hard, though very fair, till, as the seamen said, we were past the Islands on the north of Scotland, and that we began to steer away westerly (which I came to understand since), as there was no land any way, for many hundred leagues, so we had no remedy but patience, and to be easy as we could; only my surly Captain Jack continued the same man all the way.

We had a very good voyage, no storms all the way, and a northerly wind almost twenty days together; so that, in a word, we made the capes of Virginia in two-and-thirty days, from the day we steered west, as I have said, which was in the latitude of 60 degrees 30 minutes, being to the north of the isle of Great Britain; and this they said was a very quick passage.

Nothing material happened to me during the voyage; and indeed, when I came there, I was obliged to act in so narrow a compass, that nothing very material could present itself.

When we came ashore, which was in a great river, which they call Potomac, the captain asked us, but me more particularly, whether I had anything to propose to him now? Jack answered, Yes, I have something to propose to you, captain; that is, that I have promised you to cut your throat, and depend upon it I will be as good as my word. Well, well, says the captain, if I can't help it, you shall; so he turned away to me. I understood him very well what he meant; but I was now out of the reach of any relief; and as for my note, it was now but a bit of paper of no value, for nobody could receive it but myself. I saw no remedy, and so talked coldly to him of it as of a thing I was indifferent about; and indeed I was grown indifferent, for I considered all the way on the voyage, that as I was bred a vagabond, had been a pickpocket and a soldier, and was run from my colours, and that I had no settled abode in the world, nor

any employ to get anything by, except that wicked one I was bred to, which had the gallows at the heels of it, I did not see but that this service might be as well to me as other business. And this I was particularly satisfied with, when they told me, that after I had served out the five years' servitude, I should have the courtesy of the country (as they called it), that is, a certain quantity of land to cultivate and plant for myself. So that now I was like to be brought up to something by which I might live, without that wretched thing called stealing; which my very soul abhorred, and which I had given over, as I have said, ever since that wicked time that I robbed the poor widow of Kentish-town.

In this mind I was when I arrived at Virginia; and so, when the captain inquired of me what I intended to do, and whether I had anything to propose, that is to say, he meant whether I would give him my bill, which he wanted to be fingering very much; I answered coldly, My bill would be of no use to me now, for nobody would advance anything upon it; only this I would say to him, that if he would carry me and Captain Jack back to England, and to London again, I would pay him the 20*l.* off my bill for each of us. This he had no mind to; For as to your brother, says he, I would not take him into my ship for twice 20*l.*, he is such a hardened desperate villain, says he, I should be obliged to carry him in irons as I brought him hither.

Thus we parted with our captain or kidnapper, call him as you will. We were then delivered to the merchants, to whom we were consigned, who again disposed of us as they thought fit; and in a few days we were separated.

As for my Captain Jack, to make short of the story, that desperate rogue had the good luck to have a very easy good master, whose business and good humour he abused very much; and, in particular, took an opportunity to run away with a boat, which his master entrusted him and another with, to carry some provisions down the river to another plantation which he had there. This boat and provisions they ran away with, and sailed north to the bottom of the bay, as they call it, and into a river called Susquehanna, and there, quitting the boat, they wandered through the woods, till they came to Pennsylvania, from whence they made shift to get passage to New-England, and from thence home; where, falling in among his old companions, and to the old

trade, he was at length taken and hanged, about a month before I came to London, which was near twenty years afterwards.

My part was harder at the beginning, though better at the latter end; I was disposed of, that is to say, sold, to a rich planter, whose name was Smith, and with me the other Englishman, who was my fellow-deserter, that Jack brought to me when we went off from Dunbar.

We were now fellow-servants, and it was our lot to be carried up a small river or creek, which falls into Potomac river, about eight miles from the great river. Here we were brought to the plantation, and put in among about fifty servants, as well negroes as others; and being delivered to the head man, or director, or manager of the plantation, he took care to let us know that we must expect to work, and very hard too; for it was for that purpose his master bought servants, and for no other. I told him, very submissively, that since it was our misfortune to come into such a miserable condition as we were in, we expected no other; only we desired we might be showed our business, and be allowed to learn it gradually, since he might be sure we had not been used to labour; and, I added, that when he knew particularly by what methods we were brought, and betrayed into such a condition, he would perhaps see cause at least to show us that favour, if not more. This I spoke with such a moving tone, as gave him curiosity to inquire into the particulars of our story, which I gave him at large, a little more to our advantage too than ordinary.

This story, as I hoped it would, did move him to a sort of tenderness; but yet he told us, that his master's business must be done, and that he expected we must work as above; that he could not dispense with that upon any account whatever. Accordingly, to work we went; and indeed we had three hard things attending us; namely, we worked hard, lodged hard, and fared hard. The first I had been an utter stranger to, the last I could shift well enough with.

During this scene of life, I had time to reflect on my past hours, and upon what I had done in the world; and though I had no great capacity of making a clear judgment, and very little reflections from conscience, yet it made some impressions upon me; and particularly, that I was brought into this miserable condition of a slave, by some strange directing

power, as a punishment for the wickedness of my younger years; and this thought was increased upon the following occasion; the master, whose service I was now engaged in, was a man of substance and figure in the country, and had abundance of servants, as well negroes as English; in all, I think, he had near two hundred; and among so many, as some grew every year infirm and unable to work, others went off upon their time being expired, and others died; and by these and other accidents the number would diminish, if they were not often recruited and filled, and this obliged him to buy more every year.

It happened while I was here, that a ship arrived from London with several servants, and among the rest was seventeen transported felons, some burnt in the hand, others not; eight of whom my master bought for the time specified in the warrant for their transportation respectively, some for a longer, some a shorter term of years.

Our master was a great man in the country, and a justice of peace, though he seldom came down to the plantation where I was; yet, as the new servants were brought on shore, and delivered at our plantation, his worship came thither, in a kind of state, to see and receive them. When they were brought before him, I was called, among other servants, as a kind of guard, to take them into custody after he had seen them, and carry them to the work. They were brought by a guard of seamen from the ship, and the second mate of the ship came with them, and delivered them to our master, with the warrant for their transportation, as above.

When his worship had read over the warrants, he called them over by their names, one by one, and having let them know, by his reading the warrants over again to each man respectively, that he knew for what offences they were transported, he talked to every one separately very gravely; let them know how much favour they had received in being saved from the gallows, which the law had appointed for their crimes; that they were not sentenced to be transported, but to be hanged, and that transportation was granted them upon their own request and humble petition.

Then he laid before them, that they ought to look upon the life they were just going to enter upon as just beginning the world again; that if they thought fit to be diligent and sober, they would, after the time they were ordered to serve

was expired, be encouraged by the constitution of the country to settle and plant for themselves; and that even he himself would be so kind to them, that if he lived to see any of them serve their time faithfully out, it was his custom to assist his servants in order to their settling in that country, according as their behaviour might merit from him; and they would see and know several planters round about them, who now were in very good circumstances, and who formerly were only his servants, in the same condition with them, and came from the same place, that is to say, Newgate; and some of them had the mark of it in their hands, but were now very honest men and lived in very good repute.

Among the rest of his new servants, he came to a young fellow not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, and his warrant mentions that he was, though a young man, yet an old offender; that he had been several times condemned, but had been respited or pardoned, but still he continued an incorrigible pick-pocket; that the crime for which he was now transported, was for picking a merchant's pocket-book, or letter-case, out of his pocket, in which was bills of exchange for a very great sum of money; that he had afterwards received the money upon some of the bills, but that going to a goldsmith in Lombard-street with another bill, and having demanded the money, he was stopped, notice having been given of the loss of them; that he was condemned to die for the felony, and being so well known for an old offender, had certainly died but the merchant, upon his earnest application, had obtained that he should be transported, on condition that he restored all the rest of his bills, which he had done accordingly.

Our master talked a long time to this young fellow; mentioned, with some surprise, that he so young should have followed such a wicked trade so long as to obtain the name of an old offender at so young an age; and that he should be styled incorrigible, which is to signify, that notwithstanding his being whipt two or three times, and several times punished by imprisonment, and once burnt in the hand, yet nothing would do him any good, but that he was still the same. He talked mighty religiously to this boy, and told him, God had not only spared him from the gallows, but had now mercifully delivered him from the opportunity of

committing the same sin again, and put it into his power to live an honest life, which perhaps he knew not how to do before; and though some part of his life now might be laborious, yet he ought to look on it to be no more than being put out apprentice to an honest trade, in which, when he came out of his time, he might be able to set up for himself and live honestly.

Then he told him, that while he was a servant he would have no opportunity to be dishonest, so when he came to be for himself he would have no temptation to it; and so after a great many other kind things said to him and the rest, they were dismissed.

I was exceedingly moved at this discourse of our master's, as anybody would judge I must be, when it was directed to such a young rogue, born a thief, and bred up a pickpocket, like myself; for I thought all my master said was spoken to me, and sometimes it came into my head that sure my master was some extraordinary man, and he knew all things that ever I had done in my life.

But I was surprised to the last degree, when my master, dismissing all the rest of us servants, pointed at me, and speaking to his head clerk, Here, says he, bring that young fellow hither to me.

I had been near a year in the work, and I had plied it so well, that the clerk, or head man, either flattered me, or did really believe that I behaved very well; but I was terribly frighted to hear myself called out aloud, just as they used to call for such as had done some misdemeanor, and were to be lashed or otherwise corrected.

I came in like a malefactor indeed, and thought I looked like one just taken in the fact, and carried before the justice; and indeed when I came in, for I was carried into an inner-room, or parlour, in the house to him, (his discourse to the rest was in a large hall, where he sat in a seat like a lord judge upon the bench, or a petty king upon his throne); when I came in, I say, he ordered his man to withdraw, and I standing half naked, and bare-headed, with my haugh, or hoe, in my hand (the posture and figure I was in at my work), near the door, he bade me lay down my hoe and come nearer. Then he began to look a litttle less stern and terrible than I fancied him to look before, or, perhaps, both his countenance then and before might be to my imagination

differing from what they really were; for we do not always judge those things by the real temper of the person, but by the measure of our apprehensions.

Hark ye, young man, how old are you? says my master, and so our dialogue began.

Jack. Indeed, sir, I do not know.

Mast. What is your name?

Jack. They call me Colonel here, but my name is Jack, a'nt please your worship.

Mast. But prithee, what is thy name?

Jack. Jack.

Mast. What is thy christian name then, Colonel, and thy surname, Jack?

Jack. Truly, sir, to tell your honour the truth, I know little or nothing of myself, nor what my true name is; but thus I have been called ever since I remember; which is my christian name, or which my surname, or whether I was ever christened or not, I cannot tell.

Mast. Well, however, that's honestly answered. Pray how came you hither, and on what account are you made a servant here?

Jack. I wish your honour could have patience with me to hear the whole story; it is the hardest and most unjust thing that ever came before you.

Mast. Say you so? tell it me at large then; I'll hear it, I promise that, if it be an hour long.

This encouraged me, and I began at being a soldier, and being persuaded to desert at Dunbar, and gave him all the particulars, as they are related above, to the time of my coming on shore, and the captain talking to me about my bill after I arrived here. He held up his hands several times as I went on, expressing his abhorrence of the usage I had met with at Newcastle, and inquired the name of the master of the ship; for, said he, that captain, for all his smooth words, must be a rogue. So I told him his name, and the name of the ship, and he took it down in his book, and then we went on.

Mast. But pray answer me, honestly too, to another question, what was it made you so much concerned at my talking to the boy there, the pickpocket?

Jack. An't please your honour, it moved me to hear you talk so kindly to a poor slave.

Mast. And was that all? speak truly now.

Jack. No, indeed, but a secret wish came into my thoughts, that you that were so good to such a creature as that, could but one way or other know my case, and that if you did, you would certainly pity me, and do something for me.

Mast. Well, but was there nothing in his case that hit your own, that made you so affected with it, for I saw tears come from your eyes, and it was that made me call to speak to you.

Jack. Indeed, sir, I have been a wicked idle boy, and was left desolate in the world; but that boy is a thief, and condemned to be hanged; I never was before a court of justice in my life.

Mast. Well, I won't examine you too far; if you were never before a court of justice, and are not a criminal transported, I have nothing further to inquire of you. You have been ill used, that's certain, and was it that that affected you?

Jack. Yes, indeed, please your honour (we all called him his honour, or his worship).

Mast. Well, now I do know your case, what can I do for you? You speak of a bill of 94*l.* of which you would have given the captain 40*l.* for your liberty, have you that bill in your keeping still?

Jack. Yes, sir, here it is. I pulled it out of the waistband of my drawers, where I always found means to preserve it, wrapped up in a piece of paper, and pinned to the waistband, and yet almost worn out too with often pinning and removing; so I gave it to him to read, and he read it.

Mast. And is this gentleman in being that gave you the bill?

Jack. Yes, sir, he was alive and in good health when I came from London, which you may see by the date of the bill, for I came away the next day.

Mast. I do not wonder that the captain of the ship was willing to get this bill of you when you came on shore here.

Jack. I would have given it into his possession, if he would have carried me and my brother back again to England, and have taken what he asked for us out of it.

Mast. Ay, but he knew better than that too; he knew if he had any friends there, they would call him to an account for what he had done; but I wonder he did not take it from you while you were at sea, either by fraud or by force.

Jack. He did not attempt that indeed.

Mast. Well, young man, I have a mind to try if I can do you any service in this case. On my word, if the money can be paid, and you can get it safe over, I might put you in a way how to be a better man than your master, if you will be honest and diligent.

Jack. As I behave myself in your service, sir, you will I hope judge of the rest.

Mast. But perhaps you hanker after returning to England.

Jack. No, indeed, sir, if I can but get my bread honestly here, I have no mind to go to England; for I know not how to get my bread there; if I had, I had not 'listed for a soldier.

Mast. Well, but I must ask you some questions about that part hereafter; for 'tis indeed something strange that you should list for a soldier, when you had 94*l.* in your pocket.

Jack. I shall give your worship as particular account of that as I have of the other part of my life, if you please, but 'tis very long.

Mast. Well, we will have that another time; but to the case in hand; are you willing I should send to anybody at London to talk with that gentleman that gave you the bill; not to take the money of him, but to ask him only whether he has so much money of yours in his hands; and whether he will part with it when you shall give order, and send the bill, or a duplicate of it; that is, says he, the copy; and it was well he did say so, for I did not understand the word duplicate at all.

Jack. Yes, sir, I will give you the bill itself, if you please, I can trust it with you though I could not with him.

Mast. No, no, young man, I won't take it from you.

Jack. I wish your worship would please to keep it for me, for if I should lose it then I am quite undone.

Mast. I will keep it for you, Jack, if you will, but then you shall have a note under my hand, signifying that I have it, and will return it you upon demand, which will be as safe to you as the bill; I won't take it else.

So I gave my master the bill, and he gave me his note for it; and he was a faithful steward for me, as you will hear in its place. After this conference I was dismissed and went to my work; but about two hours after, the steward, or the overseer of the plantation, came riding by, and coming up to

me as I was at work, pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and calling me to him gave me a dram of rum; when, in good manners, I had taken but a little sup, he held it out to me again, and bade me take another; and spoke wondrous civilly to me, quite otherwise than he used to do.

This encouraged me, and heartened me very much, but yet I had no particular view of anything, or which way I should have any relief.

A day or two after, when we were all going out to our work in the morning, the overseer called me to him again, and gave me a dram, and a good piece of bread, and bade me come off from my work about one o'clock, and come to him to the house, for he must speak with me.

When I came to him, I came to be sure in the ordinary habit of a poor half naked slave. Come hither, young man, says he, and give me your hoe. When I gave it him, Well, says he, you are to work no more in this plantation.

I looked surprised, and as if I was frighted. What have I done? sir, said I, and whither am I to be sent away?

Nay, nay, says he, and looked very pleasantly, do not be frighted, 'tis for your good, 'tis not to hurt you; I am ordered to make an overseer of you, and you shall be a slave no longer.

Alas! says I to him, I an overseer! I am in no condition for it, I have no clothes to put on, no linen, nothing to help myself.

Well, well, says he, you may be better used than you are aware of; come hither with me. So he led me into a vast great warehouse, or, rather, set of warehouses, one within another, and calling the warehouse-keeper, Here, says he, you must clothe this man, and give him everything necessary, upon the foot of number five, and give the bill to me; our master has ordered me to allow it in the account of the west plantation. That was, it seems, the plantation where I was to go.

CHAPTER IX.

A STUMBLE AT THE THRESHOLD OF MY NEW OFFICE—I STUDY TO RENDER THE NEGROES OBEDIENT WITHOUT PUNISHMENT, AND SUCCEED—OUR MASTER VISITS THE PLANTATION—CONVERSATION WITH HIM—I GAIN HIS GOOD GRACES MORE AND MORE—FIDELITY OF A NEGRO.

ACCORDINGLY, the warehouse-keeper carried me into an inner warehouse, where were several suits of clothes of the sort his orders mentioned: which were plain, but good sorts of clothes, ready made, being of a good broadcloth, about 11*s.* a yard in England, and with this he gave me three good shirts, two pair of shoes, stockings and gloves, a hat, six neckcloths, and, in short, everything I could want; and when he had looked everything out, and fitted them, he lets me into a little room by itself. Here, says he, go in there a slave, and come out a gentleman; and with that carried everything into the room, and, shutting the door, bid me put them on, which I did most willingly; and now you may believe, that I began to hope for something better than ordinary.

In a little while after this, came the overseer, and gave me joy of my new clothes, and told me I must go with him: so I was carried to another plantation, larger than that where I worked before, and where there were two overseers, or clerks; one within doors, and one without. This last was removed to another plantation, and I was placed there in his room, that is to say, as the clerk without doors, and my business was to look after the servants and negroes, and take care that they did their business, provide their food, and, in short, both govern and direct them.

I was elevated to the highest degree in my thoughts at this advancement, and it is impossible for me to express the joy of my mind upon this occasion; but there came a difficulty upon me, that shocked me so violently, and went so against my very nature, that I really had almost forfeited my place about it; and in all appearance, the favour of our master who had been so generous to me; and this was, that

when I entered upon my office, I had a horse given me and a long horsewhip, like what we call in England a hunting-whip. The horse was to ride up and down all over the plantation, to see the servants and negroes did their work, and, the plantation being so large, it could not be done on foot, at least so often and so effectually as was required; and the horsewhip was given me to correct and lash the slaves and servants when they proved negligent or quarrelsome, or, in short, were guilty of any offence. This part turned the very blood within my veins, and I could not think of it with any temper, that I, who was but yesterday a servant or slave like them, and under the authority of the same lash, should lift up my hand to the cruel work which was my terror but the day before. This, I say, I could not do; insomuch that the negroes perceived it, and I had soon so much contempt upon my authority, that we were all in disorder.

The ingratitude of their return for the compassion I showed them provoked me, I confess, and a little hardened my heart; and I began with the negroes, two of whom I was obliged to correct; and I thought I did it most cruelly; but after I had lashed them till every blow I struck them hurt myself, and I was ready to faint at the work, the rogues laughed at me, and one of them had the impudence to say, behind my back, that, if he had the whipping of me, he would show me better how to whip a negro.

Well, however, I had no power to do it in such a barbarous manner as I found it was necessary to have it done; and the defect began to be a detriment to our master's business, and now I began indeed to see that the cruelty so much talked of, used in Virginia and Barbadoes, and other colonies, in whipping the negro slaves, was not so much owing to the tyranny and passion, and cruelty of the English as had been reported; the English not being accounted to be of a cruel disposition, and really are not so; but that it is owing to the brutality and obstinate temper of the negroes, who cannot be managed by kindness and courtesy, but must be ruled with a rod of iron, beaten with scorpions, as the Scripture calls it, and must be used as they do use them, or they would rise and murder all their masters; which, their numbers considered, would not be hard for them to do, if

they had arms and ammunition suitable to the rage and cruelty of their nature.

But I began to see at the same time that this brutal temper of the negroes was not rightly managed; that they did not take the best course with them to make them sensible, either of mercy or punishment; and it was evident to me that even the worst of those tempers might be brought to a compliance, without the lash, or at least without so much of it as they generally inflicted.

Our master was really a man of humanity himself, and was sometimes so full of tenderness that he would forbid the severities of his overseers and stewards; but he saw the necessity of it, and was obliged at last to leave it to the discretion of his upper servants; yet he would often bid them be merciful, and bid them consider the difference of the constitution of the bodies of the negroes; some being less able to bear the tortures of their punishment than others, and some of them less obstinate too than others.

However, somebody was so officious as to inform him against me upon this occasion; and let him know that I neglected his affairs, and that the servants were under no government; by which means his plantation was not duly managed, and that all things were in disorder.

This was a heavy charge for a young overseer, and his honour came like a judge, with all his attendants, to look into things and hear the cause. However, he was so just to me, as that, before he censured me, he resolved to hear me fully, and that not only publicly but in private too; and the last part of this was my particular good fortune, for, as he had formerly allowed me to speak to him with freedom, so I had the like freedom now, and had full liberty to explain and defend myself.

I knew nothing of the complaint against me, till I had it from his own mouth; nor anything of his coming till I saw him in the very plantation, viewing his work, and viewing the several pieces of ground that were ordered to be new planted; and after he had rode all round, and seen things in the condition which they were to be seen in; how everything was in its due order, and the servants and negroes were all at work, and everything appearing to his mind, he went into the house.

As I saw him come up the walks, I ran towards him, and made my homage, and gave him my humble thanks for the goodness he had showed me in taking me from the miserable condition I was in before, and employing and entrusting me in his business; and he looked pleasant enough, though he did not say much at first, and I attended him through the whole plantation, gave him an account of everything as he went along, answered all his objections and inquiries everywhere in such a manner as it seems he did not expect; and, as he acknowledged afterwards, everything was very much to his satisfaction.

There was an overseer, as I observed, belonging to the same plantation, who was, though not over me, yet in a work superior to mine; for his business was to see the tobacco packed up, and deliver it either on board the sloops, or otherwise, as our master ordered, and to receive English goods from the grand warehouse, which was at the other plantation, because that was nearest the water-side; and, in short, to keep the accounts.

This overseer, an honest and upright man, made no complaint to him of his business being neglected, as above, or of anything like it, though he inquired of him about it, and that very strictly too.

I should have said, that as he rid over the plantation, he came in his round to the place where the servants were usually corrected, when they had done any fault; and there stood two negroes, with their hands tied behind them, as it were under sentence; and when he came near them, they fell on their knees, and made pitiful signs to him for mercy. Alas! alas! says he, turning to me, why did you bring me this way? I do not love such sights, what must I do now? I must pardon them; prithee, what have they done? I told him the particular offences which they were brought to the place for; one had stole a bottle of rum, and had made himself drunk with it, and, when he was drunk, had done a great many mad things, and had attempted to knock one of the white servants' brains out with a handspike; but that the white man had avoided the blow, and, striking up the negro's heels, had seized him, and brought him prisoner thither, where he had lain all night; and that I had told him he was to be whipped that day, and the next three days, twice every day.

And could you be so cruel? says his honour; why you would kill the poor wretch; and so, beside the blood which you would have to answer for, you would lose me a lusty man negro, which cost me at least 30*l.* or 40*l.*, and bring a reproach upon my whole plantation; nay, and more than that, some of them in revenge would murder me, if ever it was in their power.

Sir, says I, if those fellows are not kept under by violence I believe you are satisfied nothing is to be done with them; and it is reported in your works, that I have been rather their jest than their terror, for want of using them as they deserve; and I was resolved, how much soever it is against my own disposition, that your service should not suffer for my unseasonable forbearance; and therefore, if I had scourged him to death—Hold, says he, no, no, by no means any such severity in my bounds. Remember, young man, you were once a servant; deal as you would acknowledge it would be just to deal with you in his case, and mingle always some mercy. I desire it, and let the consequence of being too gentle be placed to my account.

This was as much as I could desire, and the more, because what passed was in public, and several, both negroes and white servants, as well as the particular persons who had accused me, heard it all, though I did not know it. A cruel dog of an overseer, says one of the white servants behind, he would have whipped poor bullet-head, so they called the negro that was to be punished to death, if his honour had not happened to come to-day.

However, I urged the notorious crime this fellow was guilty of, and the danger there was in such forbearance, from the refractory and incorrigible temper of the negroes, and pressed a little the necessity of making examples; but he said, Well, well, do it the next time, but not now; so I said no more.

The other fellow's crime was trifling compared with this; and the master went forward, talking of it to me, and I following him, till we came to the house; when, after he had been sat down awhile, he called me to him; and, not suffering my accusers to come near till he had heard my defence, he began with me thus:—

Mast. Hark ye, young man, I must have some discourse with you. Your conduct is complained of since I set you

over this plantation; I thought your sense of the obligation I had laid on you, would have secured your diligence and faithfulness to me.

Jack. I am very sorry any complaint should be made of me, because the obligation I am under to your honour, and which I freely confess, does bind me to your interest in the strongest manner imaginable; and, however I may have mistaken my business, I am sure I have not willingly neglected it.

Mast. Well, I shall not condemn you without hearing you, and therefore I called you in now to tell you of it.

Jack. I humbly thank your honour; I have but one petition more, and that is, that I may know my accusation; and, if you please, my accusers.

Mast. The first you shall, and that is the reason of my talking to you in private; and if there is any need of a farther hearing you shall know your accusers too. What you are charged with, is just contrary to what appeared to me just now, and therefore you and I must come to a new understanding about it, for I thought I was too cunning for you, and now I think you have been too cunning for me.

Jack. I hope your honour will not be offended that I do not fully understand you.

Mast. I believe you do not; come, tell me honestly, did you really intend to whip the poor negro twice a day for four days together, that is to say, to whip him to death, for that would have been the English of it, and the end of it.

Jack. If I may be permitted to guess, sir, I believe I know the charge that is brought against me; and that your honour has been told that I have been too gentle with the negroes, as well as other servants; and that when they deserved to be used with the accustomed severity of the country, I have not given them half enough; and that by this means they are careless of your business, and that your plantation is not well looked after, and the like.

Mast. Well, you guess right; go on.

Jack. The first part of the charge I confess, but the last I deny; and appeal to your honour's strictest examination into every part of it.

Mast. If the last part could be true, I would be glad the first were; for it would be an infinite satisfaction to me, that, my business not being neglected, nor our safety en-

dangered, those poor wretches could be used with more humanity; for cruelty is the aversion of my nature, and it is the only uncomfortable thing that attends me in all my prosperity.

Jack. I freely acknowledge, sir, that at first it was impossible for me to bring myself to that terrible work. How could I, that was but just come out of the terror of it myself, and had but the day before been a poor naked miserable servant myself, and might be to-morrow reduced to the same condition again; how could I use this (showing a horsewhip) terrible weapon on the naked flesh of my fellow-servants, as well as fellow-creatures? At least, sir, when my duty made it absolutely necessary, I could not do it without the utmost horror. I beseech you, pardon me if I have such a tenderness in my nature, that though I might be fit to be your servant, I am incapable of being an executioner, having been an offender myself.

Mast. Well, but how then can my business be done? and how will this terrible obstinacy of the negroes, who they tell me can be no otherwise governed, be kept from neglect of their work, or even insolence and rebellion?

Jack. This brings me, sir, to the latter part of my defence; and here, I hope your honour will be pleased to call my accusers, or that you will give yourself the trouble of taking the exactest view of your plantation, and see, or let them show you, if anything is neglected, if your business has suffered in anything, or if your negroes or other servants are under less government than they were before; and if, on the contrary, I have found out that happy secret, to have good order kept, the business of the plantation done, and that with diligence and despatch, and that the negroes are kept in awe, the natural temper of them subjected, and the safety and peace of your family secured, as well by gentle means as by rough, by moderate correction as by torture and barbarity, by a due awe of just discipline as by the horror of unsufferable torments, I hope your honour will not lay that sin to my charge.

Mast. No, indeed, you would be the most acceptable manager that ever I employed; but how then does this consist with the cruel sentence you had passed on the poor fellow that is in your condemned hole yonder, who was to be whipped eight times in four days?

Jack. Very well, sir; first, sir, he remains under the terrible apprehensions of a punishment, so severe as no negro ever had before; this fellow, with your leave, I intended to release to-morrow without any whipping at all, after talking to him in my way about his offence, and raising in his mind a sense of the value of pardon; and if this makes him a better servant than the severest whipping will do, then, I presume, you would allow I have gained a point.

Mast. Ay, but what if it should not be so? for these fellows have no sense of gratitude.

Jack. That is, sir, because they are never pardoned; if they offend, they never know what mercy is, and what then have they to be grateful for?

Mast. Thou art in the right indeed; where there is no mercy showed, there is no obligation laid upon them.

Jack. Besides, sir, if they have at any time been let go, which is very seldom, they are not told what the case is; they take no pains with them to imprint principles of gratitude on their minds, to tell them what kindness is shown them, and what they are indebted for it, and what they might gain in the end by it.

Mast. But do you think such usage would do? Would it make any impression? You persuade yourself it would, but you see 'tis against the received notion of the whole country.

Jack. There are, it may be, public and national mistakes and errors in conduct, and this is one.

Mast. Have you tried it? You cannot say it is a mistake till you have tried and proved it to be so.

Jack. Your whole plantation is a proof of it. This very fellow had never acted as he did, if he had not gotten rum in his head, and been out of the government of himself; so that indeed all the offence I ought to have punished him for had been that of stealing a bottle of rum, and drinking it all up; in which case, like Noah, he did not know the strength of it, and when he had it in his head, he was a madman, he was as one raging and distracted; so that, for all the rest, he deserved pity rather than punishment.

Mast. Thou art right, certainly right, and thou wilt be a rare fellow if thou canst bring these notions into practice. I wish you had tried it upon any one particular negro, that I might see an example; I would give 500*l.* if it could be brought to bear.

Jack. I desire nothing, sir, but your favour, and the advantage of obliging you; I will show you an example of it among your own negroes, and all the plantation will acknowledge it.

Mast. You make my very heart glad within me, Jack; if you can bring this to pass, I here give you my word, I'll not only give you your own freedom, but make a man of you for this world as long as you live.

Upon this I bowed to him very respectfully, and told him the following story. There is a negro, sir, in your plantation, who has been your servant several years before I came; he did a fault that was of no great consequence in itself, but perhaps would have been worse if they had indeed gone farther; and I had him brought into the usual place, and tied him by the thumbs for correction, and he was told that he should be whipped and pickled in a dreadful manner. After I had made proper impressions on his mind of the terror of his punishment, and found that he was sufficiently humbled by it, I went into the house, and caused him to be brought out, just as they do when they go to correct the negroes on such occasions: when he was stripped and tied up, he had two lashes given him, that were indeed very cruel ones, and I called to them to hold. Hold! said I, to the two men that had just began to lay on upon the poor fellow: Hold! said I, let me talk with him.

So he was taken down; then I began, and represented to him how kind you, that were his great master (so the negroes call the owner of the plantation, or at least so they called him, because he was a great man in the country, having three or four large plantations), had been to him; that you had never done him any harm, that you had used him gently, and he had never been brought to this punishment in so many years, though he had done some faults before; that this was a notorious offence, for he had stolen some rum, and made himself and two other negroes drunk-mad (to be drunk in a negro, is to be mad; for when they get rum they are worse than raving, and fit to do any manner of mischief); and had abused two women negroes, who had husbands in our master's service, but in another plantation; and played several pranks, and for this I had appointed him this punishment.

He shook his head, and made signs that he was *muchee sorree*, as he called it. And what will you say or do, said I,

if I should prevail with the great master to pardon you? I have a mind to go and see if I can beg for you. He told me he would lie down, let me kill him: Me will, says he, run, go, fetch, bring for you as long as me live. This was the opportunity I had a mind to have, to try whether, as negroes have all the other faculties of reasonable creatures, they had not also some sense of kindness, some principles of natural generosity, which in short is the foundation of gratitude, for gratitude is the product of generous principles.

You please me with the beginning of this story, says he, I hope you have carried it on.

Yes, sir, says I, it has been carried on farther perhaps than you imagine, or will think has been possible in such a case.

But I was not so arrogant as to assume the merit to myself: No, no, said I, I do not ask you to go or run for me, you must do all that for our great master, for it will be from him entirely that you will be pardoned at all, for your offence is against him; and what will you say, will you be grateful to him, and run, go, fetch, bring, for him as long as you live, as you have said you would for me?

Yes indeed, says he, and *muchee do*, *muchee do*, for you too (he would not leave me out), you ask him for me.

Well, I put off all his promised gratitude to me from myself, as was my duty, and placed it to your account; told him I knew you was *muchee good*, *muchee pitiful*, and I would persuade you if I could; and so told him I would go to you, and he should be whipped no more till I came again; but, Hark ye, Mouchat, says I (that was the negro's name), they tell me, when I came hither, that there is no showing kindness to any of you negroes; that when we spare you from whipping you laugh at us, and are the worse.

He looked very serious at me, and said, O, that no so; the masters say so, but no be so, no be so, indeede, indeede: and so we parleyed.

Jack. Why do they say so then? To be sure they have tried you all.

Negro. No, no, they no try, they say so, but no try.

Jack. I hear them all say so.

Negro. Me tell you the true; they have no mercie, they beat us cruel, all cruel, they never have show mercie. How can they tell we be no better?

Jack. What, do they never spare?

Negro. Master, me speakee the true; they never give mercie, they always whippee, lashee, knockee down, all cruel: negro be muchee better man, do muchee better work, but they tell us no mercie.

Jack. But what, do they never show any mercy?

Negro. No, never, no, never, all whippee, all whippee, cruel, worse than they whippee de horse, whippee de dog.

Jack. But would they be better if they did?

Negro. Yes, yes, negro be muchee better if they be mercie; when they be whippee, whippee, negro muchee cry, muchee hate, would kill if they had de gun; but when they makee de mercie, then negro tell de great tankee, and love to worke, and do muchee worke; and because he good master to them.

Jack. They say no, you would laugh at them and mock when they show mercy.

Negro. How they say when they show mercie! they never show mercie, me never see them show one mercie since me live.

Now, sir, said I, if this be so, really they go, I dare say, contrary to your inclination, for I see you are but too full of pity for the miserable; I saw it in my own case; and upon a presumption, that you had rather have your work done from a principle of love than fear, without making your servants bleed for every trifle, if it were possible; I say, upon this presumption I dealt with this Mouchat, as you shall hear.

Mast. I have never met with anything of this kind since I have been a planter, which is now about forty years; I am delighted with the story; go on. I expect a pleasant conclusion.

Jack. The conclusion, sir, will be I believe as much to your satisfaction as the beginning; for it every way answered my expectation, and will yours also; and show you how you might be faithfully served if you pleased, for 'tis certain you are not so served now.

Mast. No, indeed; they serve me but just as they do the devil, for fear I should hurt them; but 'tis contrary to an ingenuous spirit to delight in such service; I abhor it, if I could but know how to get any other.

Jack. It is easy, sir, to show you, that you may be served

upon better principles, and consequently be better served, and more to your satisfaction; and I dare undertake to convince you of it

Mast. Well, go on with the story.

Jack. After I had talked thus to him, I said, Well, Mouchat, I shall see how you will be afterwards, if I ca get our great master to be merciful to you at this time.

Negro. Yes, you shall see, you muchee see, muchee see.

Upon this I called for my horse and went from him, and made as if I rode away to you, who they told me was in the next plantation; and having stayed four or five hours, I came back and talked to him again, told him that I had waited on you, and that you had heard of his offence, was highly provoked, and had resolved to cause him to be severely punished for an example to all the negroes in the plantation; but that I had told you how penitent he was, and how good he would be if you would pardon him; and had at last prevailed on you. That you had told me what all people said of the negroes; how, that to show them mercy was to make them think you were never in earnest with them, and that you did but trifle and play with them. However, that I had told you what he had said of himself, and that it was not true of the negroes, and that the white men said it, but that they could not know because they did never show any mercy; and therefore had never tried: that I had persuaded you to show mercy, to try whether kindness would prevail as much as cruelty. And now, Mouchat, said I, you will be let go, pray let our great master see that I have said true. So I ordered him to be untied, gave him a dram of rum out of my pocket bottle, and ordered them to give him some victuals.

When the fellow was let loose, he came to me and kneeled down to me, and took hold of my legs and of my feet, and laid his head upon the ground, and sobbed and cried like a child that had been corrected, but could not speak for his life; and thus he continued a long time. I would have taken him up but he would not rise; but I cried as fast as he, for I could not bear to see a poor wretch lie on the ground to me, that was but a servant the other day like himself. At last, but not till a quarter of an hour, I made him get up, and then he spoke. Me muchee know good

great master, muchee good you master. No negro unthankful, me die for them, do me so muchee kind.

I dismissed him then, and bid him go to his wife (for he was married), and not work that afternoon; but, as he was going away, I called him again, and talked thus to him.

Now, Mouchat, says I, you see the white men can show mercy; now you must tell all the negroes what has been reported of them, that they regard nothing but the whip; that if they are used gently they are the worse, not the better; and that this is the reason why the white men show them no mercy; and convince them, that they would be much better treated, and used kindlier, if they would show themselves as grateful for kind usage, as humble after torment; and see if you can work on them.

Me go, me go, says he, me muchee talk to them; they be muchee glad as me be, and do great work to be used kind by de great master.

Mast. Well, but now what testimony have you of this gratitude you speak of? Have you seen any alteration among them?

Jack. I come next to that part, sir. About a month after this, I caused a report to be spread abroad in the plantation, that I had offended you, the great master, and that I was turned out of the plantation, and was to be hanged. Your honour knows that some time ago, you sent me upon your particular business into Potuxent river, where I was absent twelve days; then I took the opportunity to have this report spread about among the negroes, to see how it would work.

Mast. What? to see how Mouchat would take it?

Jack. Yes, sir, and it made a discovery indeed; the poor fellow did not believe it presently, but finding I was still absent, he went to the head clerk, and standing at his door, said nothing, but looked like a fool of ten years old. After some time, the upper overseer came out, and seeing him stand there, at first said nothing, supposing he had been sent of some errand; but observing him to stand stock still, and that he was in the same posture and place, during the time that he had passed and repassed two or three times, he stops short the last time of his coming by. What do you want, says he to him, that you stand idle here so long?

Me speakee, me tell something, says he.

Then the overseer thought some discovery was at hand, and began to listen to him. What would you tell me? says he.

Me tell! pray, says he, where be de other master?

He meant, he would ask where he was. What other master do you mean? says the clerk. What, do you want to speak with the great master? He can't be spoke by you; pray what is your business, cannot you tell it to me?

No, no, me no speakee the great master, the other master, says Mouchat.

What, the colonel? says the clerk.

Yes, yes, the colonel, says he.

Why, don't you know that he is to be hanged to-morrow, says the clerk, for making the great master angry?

Yes, yes, says Mouchat, me know, me know, but me want speak, me tell something.

Well, what would you say? says the clerk.

O! me no let him makee de great master angry; with that he kneeled down to the clerk.

What ails you? says the clerk; I tell you he must be hanged.

No, no, says he, no hang de master, me kneel for him to great master.

You kneel for him! says the clerk; what, do you think the great master will mind you? He has made the great master angry, and must be hanged, I tell you; what signifies your begging?

Negro. O! me pray, me pray the great master for him.

Clerk. Why, what ails you, that you would pray for him?

Negro. O! he beggee the great master for me, now me beggee for him; the great master muchee good, muchee good, he pardon me when the other master beggee me; now he pardon him when me beggee for him again.

Clerk. No, no, your begging won't do; will you be hanged for him? if you do that, something may be.

Negro. Yes, yes, me be hang for de poor master that beggee for me; Mouchat shall hang, the great master shall hangee me, whippee me, anything to save the poor master that beggee me, yes, yes, indeed.

Clerk. Are you in earnest, Mouchat?

Negro. Yes indeed, me tellee de true, the great master

shall know me tellee de true, for he shall see the white man hangee me Mouchat; poor negro Mouchat will be hangee, be whippee, anything for the poor master that beggee for me.

With this the poor fellow cried most pitifully, and there was no room to question his being in earnest; when on a sudden I appeared, for I was fetched to see all this transaction. I was not in the house at first, but was just come home from the business you sent me of, and heard it all, and indeed neither the clerk nor I could bear it any longer, so he came out to me: Go to him, says he, you have made an example that will never be forgot, that a negro can be grateful; go to him, adds he, for I can talk to him no longer. So I appeared, and spoke to him presently, and let him see that I was at liberty; but to hear how the poor fellow behaved, your honour cannot but be pleased.

Master. Prithee go on, I am pleased with it all; 'tis all a new scene of negro life to me, and very moving.

Jack. For a good while he stood as if he had been thunderstruck and stupid; but, looking steadily at me, though not speaking a word, at last he mutters to himself, with a kind of a laugh, Ay, ay, says he, Mouchat see, Mouchat no see, me wakee, me no wakee; no hangee, no hangee, he live truly, very live; and then on a sudden he runs to me, snatches me away as if I had been a boy of ten years old, and takes me up upon his back and runs away with me, till I was fain to cry out to him to stop; then he sets me down, and looks at me again, then falls a dancing about me, as if he had been bewitched, just as you have seen them do about their wives and children when they are merry.

Well, then, he began to talk with me, and told me what they had said to him, how I was to be hanged. Well, says I, Mouchat, and would you have been satisfied to be hanged to save me? Yes, yes, says he, be truly hangee, to beggee you.

But why do you love me so well, Mouchat? said I.

Did you no beggee me, he says, at the great master? you savee me, make great master muchee good, muchee kind, no whippee me; me no forget; me be whipped, be hanged, that you no be hanged; me die, that you no die; me no let any bad be with you all while that me live.

Now, sir, your honour may judge whether kindness, well

managed, would not oblige these people as well as cruelty; and whether there are principles of gratitude in them or no.

Master. But what then can be the reason that we never believed it to be so before?

Jack. Truly, sir, I fear that Mouchat gave the true reason.

Master. What was that pray? that we were too cruel?

Jack. That they never had any mercy showed them; that they never tried them whether they would be grateful or no; that if they did a fault, they were never spared, but punished with the utmost cruelty; so that they had no passion, no affection to act upon, but that of fear, which necessarily brought hatred with it; but that if they were used with compassion they would serve with affection as well as other servants. Nature is the same, and reason governs in just proportions in all creatures; but having never been let taste what mercy is, they know not how to act from a principle of love.

Master. I am convinced it is so; but now, pray tell me, how did you put this in practice with the poor negroes now in bonds yonder, when you passed such a cruel sentence upon them, that they should be whipped twice a day, for four days together; was that showing mercy?

Jack. My method was just the same; and if you please to inquire of Mr. ——, your other servant, you will be satisfied that it was so; for we agreed upon the same measures as I took with Mouchat; namely, first to put them into the utmost horror and apprehensions of the cruelest punishment that they ever heard of, and thereby enhance the value of their pardon, which was to come as from yourself, but not without our great intercession. Then I was to argue with them, and work upon their reason, to make the mercy that was showed them sink deep into their minds, and give lasting impressions; explain the meaning of gratitude to them, and the nature of an obligation, and the like, as I had done with Mouchat.

Master. I am answered; your method is certainly right, and I desire you may go on with it; for I desire nothing on this side heaven more, than to have all my negroes serve me from principles of gratitude for my kindness to them. I abhor to be feared like a lion, like a tyrant; it is a violence upon nature every way, and is the most disagreeable thing in the world to a generous mind.

Jack. But, sir, I am doubtful that you may not believe that I intended to act thus with those poor fellows; I beseech you to send for Mr. ——, that he may tell you what we had agreed on, before I speak with him.

Master. What reason have I to doubt that?

Jack. I hope you have not; but I should be very sorry you should think me capable of executing such a sentence, as you have heard me own I had passed on them; and there can be no way effectually to clear it up but this.

Master. Well, seeing you put so much weight upon it, he shall be called for.

[He was called, and, being ordered by the master to tell the measures that were concerted between them for the punishment or management of those negroes, he gave it just as Jack had done before.]

Jack. I hope, sir, you are now, not only satisfied of the truth of the account I gave, relating to the method we had agreed on, but of its being so proper, and so likely to answer your end.

Master. I am fully satisfied, and shall be glad to see that it answers the end; for, as I have said, nothing can be more agreeable to me, nothing has so much robbed me of the comfort of all my fortunes, as the cruelty used, in my name, on the bodies of those poor slaves.

Jack. It is certainly wrong, sir; it is not only wrong as it is barbarous and cruel, but it is wrong, too, as it is the worst way of managing and of having your business done.

Master. It is my aversion, it fills my very soul with horror; I believe if I should come by while they were using those cruelties on the poor creatures, I should either sink down at the sight of it, or fly into a rage and kill the fellow that did it; though it is done too by my own authority.

Jack. But, sir, I dare say I shall convince you also that it is wrong in respect of interest; and that your business shall be better discharged, and your plantations better ordered, and more work done by the negroes, who shall be engaged by mercy and lenity, than by those who are driven and dragged by the whips and the chains of a merciless tormentor.

Master. I think the nature of the thing speaks itself; doubtless it should be so, and I have often thought it would be so, and a thousand times wished it might be so; but all

my English people pretend otherwise, and that it is impossible to bring the negroes to any sense of kindness, and consequently not to any obedience of love.

Jack. It may be true, sir, that there may be found here and there a negro of a senseless, stupid, sordid disposition, perfectly untractable, undocible, and incapable of due impressions; especially incapable of the generosity of principle which I am speaking of. You know very well, sir, there are such among the Christians, as well as among the negroes; whence else came the English proverb, That if you save a thief from the gallows, he shall be the first to cut your throat. But, sir, if such a refractory, undocible fellow comes in our way, he must be dealt with, first by the smooth ways, to try him, then by the violent way, to break his temper, as they break a horse; and if nothing will do, such a wretch should be sold off, and others bought in his room; for the peace of the plantation should not be broken for one devilish-tempered fellow; and if this was done, I doubt not you should have all your plantations carried on, and your work done, and not a negro or a servant upon it, but what would not only work for you, but even die for you if there was an occasion for it, as you see this poor Mouchat would have done for me.

Master. Well, go on with your measures, and may you succeed; I'll promise you I will fully make you amends for it. I long to have these cruelties out of use, in my plantation especially; as for others, let them do as they will.

CHAPTER X.

MY MASTER GIVES ME MY LIBERTY, AND PUTS ME INTO A PLANTATION FOR MYSELF—PROCEEDINGS AS A PLANTER—I GET MY BILL CASHED IN LONDON, AND A SORTED PARCEL OF GOODS SENT OUT FOR ITS AMOUNT—THE GREATEST PART OF THEM ARE LOST AT THE MOUTH OF THE BAY—REFLECTIONS.

Our master being gone, I went to the prisoners, and first I suffered them to be told that the great master had been there, and that he had been inclined to pardon them, till he knew what their crime was; but then he said it was so great a fault that it must be punished; besides, the man that talked

to them told them, that the great master said, that he knew if he had pardoned them they would be but the worse, for that the negroes were never thankful for being spared, and that there were no other ways to make them obedient, but by severity.

One of the poor fellows, more sensible than the other, answered, if any negro be badder for being kindly used, they should be whipped till they were muchee better; but that he never knew that, for that he never knew the negro be kindly use.

This was the same thing as the other had said, and indeed, was but too true, for the overseers really knew no such thing as mercy; and that notion of the negroes being no other way to be governed but by cruelty, had been the occasion that no other method was ever tried among them.

Again, if a slack hand had at any time been held upon them, it had not been done with discretion, or as a point of mercy, and managed with the assistance of argument to convince the negroes of the nature and reason of it, and to show them what they ought to do in return for it; but it was perhaps the effect of negligence, ill conduct, and want of application to the business of the plantation; and then it was no wonder that the negroes took the advantage of it.

Well, I carried on the affair with these two negroes just as I did with Mouchat, so I need not repeat the particulars; and they were delivered with infinite acknowledgments and thanks, even to all the extravagances of joy usual in those people on such occasions; and such was the gratitude of those two pardoned fellows, that they were the most faithful and most diligent servants ever after that belonged to the whole plantation, Mouchat excepted.

In this manner I carried on the plantation fully to his satisfaction; and before a year more was expired, there was scarce any such thing as correction known in the plantation, except upon a few boys, who were incapable of the impressions that good usage would have made, even upon them too, till they had lived to know the difference.

It was some time after this conference, that our great master, as we called him, sent for me again to his dwelling-house, and told me he had had an answer from England from his friend, to whom he had written about my bill. I was a little afraid that he was going to ask me leave to send

it to London; but he did not say anything like that, but told me that his friend had been with the gentleman, and that he owned the bill, and that he had all the money in his hand that the bill had mentioned; but that he had promised the young man that had given him the money (meaning me) not to pay the money to anybody but himself, though they should bring the bill; the reason of which was, that I did not know who might get the bill away from me.

But now, Colonel Jack, says he, as you wrote him an account where you was, and by what wicked arts you were trepanned, and that it was impossible for you to have your liberty till you could get the money; my friend at London has written to me, that, upon making out a due copy of the bill here, attested by a notary and sent to him, and your obligation likewise attested, whereby you oblige yourself to deliver the original to his order, after the money is paid, he will pay the money.

I told him I was willing to do whatever his honour directed; and so the proper copies were drawn as I had been told were required.

But now, what will you do with this money Jack? says he, smiling; will you buy your liberty of me, and go to planting?

I was too cunning for him now indeed, for I remembered what he had promised me; and I had too much knowledge of the honesty of his principles, as well as of the kindness he had for me, to doubt his being as good as his word; so I turned all this talk of his upon him another way. I knew that when he asked me if I would buy my liberty and go to planting, it was to try if I would leave him; so I said, As to buying my liberty, sir, that is to say, going out of your service, I had much rather buy more time in your service, and I am only unhappy that I have but two years to serve.

Come, come, colonel, says he, don't flatter me; I love plain dealing; liberty is precious to everybody; if you have a mind to have your money brought over, you shall have your liberty to begin for yourself, and I will take care you shall be well used by the country, and get you a good plantation.

I still insisted that I would not quit his service for the best plantation in Maryland; that he had been so good to me, and I believed I was so useful to him, that I could not

think of it; and at last I added, I hoped he could not believe but I had as much gratitude as a negro.

He smiled, and said he would not be served upon those terms; that he did not forget what he had promised, nor what I had done in his plantation; and that he was resolved in the first place to give me my liberty. So he pulls out a piece of paper, and throws it to me: There, says he, there's a certificate of your coming on shore, and being sold to me for five years, of which you have lived three with me, and now you are your own master. I bowed, and told him that I was sure if I was my own master, I would be his servant as long as he would accept of my service; and now we strained courtesies, and he told me I should be his servant still; but it should be on two conditions, 1st, that he would give me 30*l.* a-year and my board, for my managing the plantation I was then employed in; and 2dly, that at the same time he would procure me a new plantation to begin upon my own account. For, Colonel Jack, says he, smiling, though you are but a young man, yet 'tis time you were doing something for yourself.

I answered, that I could do little at a plantation for myself, unless I neglected his business, which I was resolved not to do on any terms whatever; but that I would serve him faithfully, if he would accept of me, as long as he lived. So you shall, says he again, and serve yourself too. And thus we parted for that time.

Here I am to observe in the general, to avoid dwelling too long upon a story, that as the two negroes, who I delivered from punishment, were ever after the most diligent and laborious poor fellows in the whole plantation as above, except Mouchat, of whom I shall speak more by and by, so they not only were grateful themselves for their good usage, but they influenced the whole plantation; so that the gentle usage and lenity with which they had been treated, had a thousand times more influence upon them to make them diligent, than all the blows and kicks, whippings, and other tortures could have, which they had been used to, and now the plantation was famous for it; so that several other planters began to do the same, though I cannot say it was with the same success, which might be for want of taking pains with them, and working upon their passions in a right manner. It appeared that negroes were to be reasoned into things as well as other

people, and it was by thus managing their reason that most of the work was done.

However, as it was, the plantations in Maryland were the better for this undertaking, and they are to this day less cruel and barbarous to their negroes, than they are in Barbadoes and Jamaica; and 'tis observed the negroes are not in these colonies so desperate, neither do they so often run away, or so often plot mischief against their master, as they do in those.

I have dwelt the longer upon it, that, if possible, posterity might be persuaded to try gentler methods with those miserable creatures, and to use them with humanity; assuring them that if they did so, adding the common prudence that every particular case would direct them to for itself, the negroes would do their work faithfully and cheerfully; they would not find any of that refractoriness and sullenness in their temper that they pretend now to complain of, but they would be the same as their Christian servants, except that they would be the more thankful, and humble, and laborious of the two.

I continued in this station between five and six years after this, and in all that time we had not one negro whipped, except, as I observed before, now and then an unlucky boy, and that only for trifles; I cannot say but we had some ill-natured, ungovernable negroes; but if at any time such offended, they were pardoned the first time, in the manner as above, and the second time were ordered to be turned out of the plantation; and this was remarkable, that they would torment themselves at the apprehension of being turned away, more by a great deal than if they had been to be whipped, for then they were only sullen, and heavy; nay, at length we found the fear of being turned out of the plantation had as much effect to reform them, that is to say, make them more diligent than any torture would have done; and the reason was evident, namely, because in our plantation they were used like men, in the other like dogs.

My master owned the satisfaction he took in this blessed change, as he called it, as long as he lived; and as he was so engaged by seeing the negroes grateful, he showed the same principle of gratitude to those that served him, as he looked for in those that he served; and particularly to me, and so I come briefly to that part. The first thing he did after giving me my liberty as above, and making me an allowance, was

to get the country bounty to me, that is to say, a quantity of land to begin and plant for myself.

But this he managed a way by himself; and, as I found afterwards, took up, that is, purchased in my name, about three hundred acres of land, in a more convenient place than it would have otherwise been allotted me; and this he did by his interest with the lord proprietor; so that I had an extent of ground marked out to me, not next, but very near one of his own plantations. When I made my acknowledgment for this to him, he told me plainly that I was not beholden to him for it all; for he did it that I might not be obliged to neglect his business for the carrying on my own, and on that account he would not reckon to me what money he paid, which, however, according to the custom of the country, was not a very great sum; I think about 40*l.* or 50*l.*

Thus he very generously gave me my liberty, advanced this money for me, put me into a plantation for myself, and gave me 30*l.* a year wages for looking after one of his own plantations.

But, colonel, says he to me, giving you this plantation is nothing at all to you, if I do not assist you to support it and to carry it on; and therefore I will give you credit for whatever is needful to you for the carrying it on; such as tools, provisions for servants, and some servants to begin; materials to build out-houses, and conveniencies of all sorts for the plantation, and to buy hogs, cows, horses for stock, and the like, and I'll take it out of your cargo, which will come from London, for the money of your bill.

This was highly obliging and very kind, and the more so, as it afterwards appeared. In order to this, he sent two servants of his own, who were carpenters; as for timber, boards, planks, and all sorts of such things, in a country almost all made of wood, they could not be wanting: these run me up a little wooden house in less than three weeks' time, where I had three rooms, a kitchen, an out-house, and two large sheds at a distance from the house, for store-houses, almost like barns, with stables at the end of them; and thus I was set up in the world, and, in short, removed by the degrees that you have heard, from a pickpocket to a kidnapped miserable slave in Virginia (for Maryland is Virginia, speaking of them at a distance); then from a slave to a head officer or overseer of slaves, and from thence to a master planter.

I had now, as above, a house, a stable, two warehouses, and three hundred acres of land; but, as we say, bare walls make giddy hussies, so I had neither axe nor hatchet to cut down the trees; horse, nor hog, nor cow to put upon the land; not a hoe, or a spade, to break ground, nor a pair of hands but my own to go to work upon.

But heaven and kind masters make up all those things to a diligent servant; and I mention it, because people who are either transported or otherwise trepanned into those places, are generally thought to be rendered miserable and undone; whereas, on the contrary. I would encourage them, upon my own experience, to depend upon it, that if their own diligence in the time of service gains them but a good character, which it will certainly do if they can deserve it, there is not the poorest and most despicable felon that ever went over, but may, after his time is served, begin for himself, and may in time be sure of raising a good plantation.

For example, I will now take a man in the meanest circumstances of a servant, who has served out his five or seven years; suppose a transported wretch for seven years. The custom of the place was then, what it is since I know not, that on his master's certifying that he had served his time out faithfully, he had fifty acres of land allotted him for planting, and on this plan he begins.

Some had a horse, a cow, and three hogs given, or rather lent them, as a stock for the land, which they made an allowance for at a certain time and rate.

Custom has made it a trade to give credit to such beginners as these, for tools, clothes, nails, ironwork, and other things necessary for their planting; and which the persons, so giving credit to them, are to be paid for out of the crop of tobacco which they shall plant; nor is it in the debtor's power to defraud the creditor of payment in that manner; and as tobacco is their coin, as well as their product, so all things are to be purchased at a certain quantity of tobacco, the price being so rated.

Thus the naked planter has credit at his beginning, and immediately goes to work, to cure the land, and plant tobacco; and from this little beginning have some of the most considerable planters in Virginia, and in Maryland also, raised themselves; namely, from being without a hat, or a shoe, to estates of 40 or 50.000*l.*; and in this method, I may add

no diligent man ever miscarried, if he had health to work, and was a good husband; for he every year increases a little, and every year adding more land, and planting more tobacco, which is real money, he must gradually increase in substance, till at length he gets enough to buy negroes and other servants, and then never works himself any more.

In a word, every Newgate wretch, every desperate forlorn creature, the most despicable ruined man in the world, has here a fair opportunity put into his hands to begin the world again, and that upon a foot of certain gain, and in a method exactly honest; with a reputation that nothing past will have any effect upon; and innumerable people have raised themselves from the worst circumstances in the world, namely, from the cells in Newgate.

But I return to my own story: I was now a planter, and encouraged by a kind benefactor; for, that I might not be wholly taken up with my new plantation, he gave me freely, and without any consideration, my grateful negro Mouchat. He told me it was a debt due to the affection that poor creature had always had for me, and so indeed it was, for as the fellow would once have been hanged for me, so now, and to his last, he loved me so much, that it was apparent he did everything with pleasure that he did for me; and he was so overcome of joy when he heard that he was to be my negro, that the people in the plantation really thought it would turn his head, and that the fellow would go distracted.

Besides this, he sent me two servants more, a man and a woman, but these he put to my account, as above. Mouchat and these two fell immediately to work for me, and they began with about two acres of land which had but little timber on it at first, and most of that was cut down by the two carpenters who built my house, or shed rather, for so it should be called.

These two acres I got in good forwardness, and most of it well planted with tobacco; though some of it we were obliged to plant with garden-stuff for food, such as potatoes, carrots, cabbages, peas, beans, &c.

It was a great advantage to me, that I had so bountiful a master, who helped me out in every case; for in this very first year I received a terrible blow; for my bill, as I have observed, having been copied, and attested in form, and sent to London, my kind friend and custom-house gentleman paid

me the money, and the merchant at London, by my good master's direction, had laid it all out in a sorted cargo of goods for me, such as would have made a man of me all at once; but to my inexpressible terror and surprise, the ship was lost, and that just at the entrance into the capes, that is to say, the mouth of the bay. Some of the goods were recovered, but spoiled, and, in short, nothing but the nails, tools, and iron-work, were good for anything; and though the value of them was pretty considerable in proportion to the rest, yet my loss was irreparably great, and, indeed, the greatness of the loss consisted in its being irreparable.

I was perfectly astonished at the first news of the loss, knowing that I was in debt to my patron, or master, so much, that it must be several years before I should recover it; and as he brought me the bad news himself, he perceived my disorder, that is to say, he saw I was in the utmost confusion, and a kind of amazement, and so indeed I was, because I was so much in debt; but he spoke cheerfully to me; Come, says he, do not be so discouraged, you may make up this loss. No, sir, says I, that never can be, for it is my all, and I shall never be out of debt. Well, but, says he, you have no creditor, however, but me; and now remember I once told you I would make a man of you, and I will not disappoint you for this disaster.

I thanked him, and did it with more ceremony and respect than ever, because I thought myself more under the hatches than I was before. But he was as good as his word, for he did not baulk me in the least of anything I wanted; and as I had more iron-work saved out of the ship, in proportion, than I wanted, I supplied him with some part of it, and took up some linen and clothes, and other necessaries from him in exchange.

And now I began to increase visibly; I had a large quantity of land cured, that is, freed from timber, and a very good crop of tobacco in view; and I got three servants more and one negro, so that I had five white servants and two negroes, and with this my affairs went very well on.

The first year, indeed, I took my wages, or salary, that is to say, 30*l.* a year, because I wanted it very much; but the second and third year I resolved not to take it, on any account whatsoever, but to leave it in my benefactor's hands, to clear off the debt I had contracted.

And now I must impose a short digression on the reader, to note, that, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of a most wretched education, yet now, when I began to feel myself, as I may say, in the world, and to be arrived to an independent state, and to foresee that I might be something considerable in time; I say, now I found different sentiments of things taking place in my mind; and first, I had a solid principle of justice and honesty, and a secret horror at things past, when I looked back upon my former life; that original something, I knew not what, that used formerly to check me in the first meannesses of my youth, and used to dictate to me, when I was but a child, that I was to be a gentleman, continued to operate upon me now in a manner I cannot describe; and I continually remembered the words of the ancient glassmaker to the gentleman that he reproved for swearing, that to be a gentleman was to be an honest man; that without honesty, human nature was sunk and degenerated; the gentleman lost all the dignity of his birth, and placed himself even below an honest beggar. These principles growing upon my mind in the present circumstances I was in, gave me a secret satisfaction that I can give no description of. It was an inexpressible joy to me, that I was now like to be, not only a man, but an honest man; and it yielded me a greater pleasure that I was ransomed from being a vagabond, a thief, and a criminal, as I had been from a child, than that I was delivered from slavery, and the wretched state of a Virginia sold servant. I had notion enough in my mind of the hardships of the servant, or slave, because I had felt it, and worked through it; I remembered it as a state of labour and servitude, hardship and suffering. But the other shocked my very nature, chilled my blood, and turned the very soul within me; the thought of it was like reflections upon hell and the damned spirits; it struck me with horror, it was odious and frightful to look back on, and it gave me a kind of a fit, a convulsion or nervous disorder, that was very uneasy to me.

But to look forward, to reflect how things were changed, how happy I was that I could live by my own endeavours, and was no more under the necessity of being a villain, and of getting my bread at my own hazard and the ruin of honest families; this had in it something more than commonly pleasing and agreeable, and, in particular, it had a pleasure that

till then I had known nothing of. It was a sad thing to be under a necessity of doing evil, to procure that subsistence, which I could not support the want of, to be obliged to run the venture of the gallows rather than the venture of starving, and to be always wicked for fear of want.

I cannot say that I had any serious religious reflections, or that these things proceeded yet from the uneasiness of conscience, but from mere reasonings with myself, and from being arrived to a capacity of making a right judgment of things more than before; yet I own I had such an abhorrence of the wicked life I had led, that I was secretly easy, and had a kind of pleasure in the disaster that was upon me about the ship, and that, though it was a loss, I could not but be glad that those ill-gotten goods was gone, and that I had lost what I had stolen; for I looked on it as none of mine, and that it would be fire in my flax if I should mingle it with what I had now, which was come honestly by, and was, as it were, sent from heaven to lay the foundation of my prosperity, which the other would be only as a moth to consume.

At the same time my thoughts dictated to me, that though this was the foundation of my new life, yet that this was not the superstructure, and that I might still be born for greater things than these; that it was honesty and virtue alone that made men rich and great, and gave them a fame as well as a figure in the world, and that therefore I was to lay my foundation in these, and expect what might follow in time.

To help these thoughts, as I had learned to read and write when I was in Scotland; so I began now to love books, and particularly I had an opportunity of reading some very considerable ones; such as Livy's Roman history, the history of the Turks, the English history of Speed, and others; the history of the Low country wars, the history of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and the history of the Spaniards' conquest of Mexico, with several others, some of which I bought at a planter's house, who was lately dead, and his goods sold, and others I had borrowed.

I considered my present state of life to be my mere youth, though I was now above thirty years old, because in my youth I had learned nothing; and if my daily business, which was now great, would have permitted, I would have been content to have gone to school. However, fate, that

had yet something else in store for me, threw an opportunity into my hand; namely, a clever fellow, that came over a transported felon from Bristol, and fell into my hands for a servant. He had led a loose life, that he acknowledged, and being driven to extremities took to the highway, for which, had he been taken, he would have been hanged; but falling into some low-prized rogueries afterwards, for want of opportunity for worse, was catched, condemned, and transported, and, as he said, was glad he came off so.

He was an excellent scholar, and I perceiving it, asked him one time, if he could give a method how I might learn the Latin tongue? He said, smiling, Yes, he could teach it me in three months, if I would let him have books, or even without books, if he had time. I told him, a book would become his hands better than a hoe; and if he could promise to make me but understand Latin enough to read it, and understand other languages by it, I would ease him of the labour which I was now obliged to put him to, especially if I was assured that he was fit to receive that favour of a kind master. In short, I made him to me what my benefactor made me to him, and from him I gained a fund of knowledge, infinitely more valuable than the rate of a slave, which was what I had paid for it, but of this hereafter.

With these thoughts I went cheerfully about my work. As I had now five servants, my plantation went on, though gently, yet safely, and increased gradually, though slowly; but the third year, with the assistance of my old benefactor, I purchased two negroes more, so that now I had seven servants; and having cured land sufficient for supply of their food, I was at no difficulty to maintain them; so that my plantation began now to enlarge itself, and as I lived without any personal expense, but was maintained at my old great master's, as we called him, and at his charge, with 30*l.* a year besides, so all my gains was laid up for increase.

CHAPTER XI.

I ADVANCE RAPIDLY TO RICHES AND HONOUR FOR TWELVE YEARS—MY BENEFACTOR DIES—MY PEDAGOGUE RELATES SEVERAL PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE TO ME—I EMBARK FOR ENGLAND—AM TAKEN BY A FRENCH PRIVATEER—THE PRIVATEER TAKES ANOTHER ENGLISH SHIP—ACCOUNT OF HER CARGO.

In this posture I went on for twelve years, and was very successful in my plantation, and had gotten, by means of my master's favour, who now I called my friend, a correspondent in London, with whom I traded, shipped over my tobacco to him, and received European goods in return, such as I wanted to carry on my plantation, and sufficient to sell to others also.

In this interval, my good friend and benefactor died, and I was left very disconsolate on account of my loss, for it was indeed a great loss to me; he had been a father to me, and I was like a forsaken stranger without him, though I knew the country and the trade too, well enough, and had for some time chiefly carried on his whole business for him, yet I seemed now at a loss; my counsellor and my chief supporter was gone, and I had no confidant to communicate myself to, on all occasions, as formerly; but there was no remedy. I was, however, in a better condition to stand alone than ever; I had a very large plantation, and had near seventy negroes and other servants. In a word, I was grown really rich, considering my first circumstances, that began as I may say with nothing; that is to say, I had nothing of stock, but I had a great beginning, for I had such a man's friendship and support in my beginning, that indeed I needed no other stock, and if I had had 500*l.* to have begun with, and not the assistance, advice, and countenance of such a man, I had not been in a better condition; but he promised to make a man of me, and so he did, and in one respect I may say I have merited it of him, for I brought his plantation into such order, and the government of his negroes into such a regulation, that if he had given 500*l.* to have had it done, he would have thought his money well bestowed; his work was always in order, going

forward to his mind, everything was in a thriving posture, his servants all loved him, even negroes and all, and yet there was no such thing as a cruel punishment, or severities known among them.

In my own plantation it was the same thing; I wrought so upon the reason and the affections of my negroes, that they served me cheerfully, and, by consequence, faithfully and diligently; when in my neighbour's plantation there was not a week hardly passed without such horrible outcries, roarings and yellings of the servants, either under torture, or in fear of it, that their negroes would, in discourse with ours, wish themselves dead and gone, as it seems they believed they should after death, into their own country.

If I met with a sullen stupid fellow, as sometimes it was unavoidable, I always parted with him, and sold him off; for I would not keep any that sense of kind usage would not oblige; but I seldom met with such bad ones; for, by talking to them in a plain reasoning way, I found the temper of the roughest of them would break and soften; the sense of their own interest would prevail with them at first or last; and if it had not, the contrary temper was so general among my people, that their own fellows and countrymen would be against them, and that served to bring them to reason as soon as any other thing; and this, those who think it worth their while, will easily find, viz., that having prevailed effectually over one leading man among them to be tractable, and pleased, and grateful, he shall make them all like him, and that in a little while, with more ease than can be imagined.

I was now a planter, and also a student. My pedagogue, I mentioned above, was very diligent, and proved an extraordinary man indeed; he taught me not only with application, but with admirable judgment in the teaching part; for I have seen it in many instances since that time, that every good scholar is not fitted for a schoolmaster, and that the art of teaching is quite different from that of knowing the language taught.

But this man had both, and proved of great use to me, and I found reason, in the worth of the person, to be very kind to him, his circumstances considered. I once took the liberty to ask him how it came to pass that he, who must have had a liberal education, and great advantages to have advanced him in the world, should be capable of falling into

such miserable circumstances as he was in when he came over? I used some caution in entering upon an inquiry, which, as I said, might not be pleasant to him to relate; but that I would make him amends by telling him, that if he desired not to enter into it with me, I would readily excuse him, and would not take it ill at all; this I did, because to a man under such afflictions one should always be tender, and not put them upon relating anything of themselves which was grievous to them, or which they had rather was concealed.

But he told me that it was true, that to look back upon his past life was indeed *renovare dolorem*; but that such mortifications were now useful to him, to help forward that repentance which he hoped he was sincerely entered upon; and that though it was with horror he looked back upon misspent time, and ill-applied gifts, which a bountiful Creator had blessed him with, and spared to him for a better improvement, yet he thought he ought to load himself with as much of the shame as it pleased God to make his lot, since he had already loaded himself with the guilt in a shameless manner; till God, he still hoped in mercy to him, had cut him short, and brought him to public disgrace, though he could not say he had been brought to justice, for then he had been sent into eternity in despair, and not been sent to Virginia, to repent of the wickedest life that ever man lived.—He would have gone on, but I found his speech interrupted by a passionate struggle within, between his grief and his tears.

I took no more notice of it than to tell him, that I was sorry I had asked him about it, but that it was my curiosity. When I saw that ignorant, untaught, untractable creatures come into misery and shame, I made no inquiry after their affairs; but when I saw men of parts and learning take such steps, I concluded it must be occasioned by something exceeding wicked. So indeed, said he, the judge said to me when I begged mercy of him in Latin; he told me, that when a man with such learning, falls into such crimes, he is more inexcusable than other men, because his learning recommending him, he could not want advantages, and had the less temptation to crimes.

But, sir, said he, I believe my case was what I find is the case of most of the wicked part of the world, viz., that to be reduced to necessity is to be wicked; for necessity is not only the temptation, but is such a temptation as human nature is

not empowered to resist. How good then, says he, is that God, which takes from you, sir, the temptation, by taking away the necessity?

I was so sensible of the truth of what he said, knowing it by my own case, that I could not enter any farther upon the discourse; but he went on voluntarily. This, sir, says he, I am so sensible of, that I think the case I am reduced to much less miserable than the life which I lived before, because I am delivered from the horrid necessity of doing such ill things, which was my ruin and disaster then, even for my bread, and am not now obliged to ravish my bread out of the mouths of others by violence and disorder; but am fed, though I am made to earn it by the hard labour of my hands, and I thank God for the difference. He paused here, but went on thus:

How much is the life of a slave in Virginia to be preferred to that of the most prosperous thief in the world! Here I live miserable, but honest; suffer wrong, but do no wrong; my body is punished, but my conscience is not loaded; and, as I used to say, that I had no leisure to look in, but I would begin when I had some recess, some time to spare, now God has found me leisure to repent. He run on in this manner a great while, giving thanks, I believe most heartily, for his being delivered from the wretched life he had lived, though his misery were to be tenfold as much as it was.

I was sincerely touched with his discourse on this subject; I had known so much of the real difference of the case, that I could not but be affected with it, though till now, I confess, I knew little of the religious part. I had been an offender as well as he, though not altogether in the same degree, but I knew nothing of the penitence; neither had I looked back upon anything as a crime, but as a life dishonourable, and not like a gentleman, which run much in my thoughts, as I have several times mentioned.

Well, but now, says I, you talk penitently, and I hope you are sincere; but what would be your case, if you were delivered from the miserable condition of a slave sold for money which you are now in? Should you not, think you, be the same man?

Blessed be God, says he, that if I thought I should, I would sincerely pray that I might not be delivered, and that I might for ever be a slave rather than a sinner.

Well but, says I, suppose you to be under the same necessity,

in the same starving condition, should you not take the same course?

He replied very sharply, That shows us the need we have of the petition in the Lord's prayer, "lead us not into temptation;" and of Solomon's, or Agar's prayer, "give me not poverty, lest I steal." I should ever beg of God not to be left to such snares as human nature cannot resist. But I have some hope, that I should venture to starve rather than to steal; but I also beg to be delivered from the danger, because I know not my own strength.

This was honestly spoken, indeed; and there really were such visible tokens of sincerity in all his discourse, that I could not suspect him. On some of our discourses on this subject, he pulled out a little dirty paper-book, in which he had wrote down such a prayer in verse, as I doubt few Christians in the world could subscribe to; and I cannot but record it, because I never saw anything like it in my life; the lines are as follow:

Lord! whatsoever sorrows rack my breast,
Till crime removes too, let me find no rest;
How dark soe'er my state, or sharp my pain,
O! let not troubles cease, and sin remain.
For Jesus' sake remove not my distress,
Till free triumphant grace shall repossess
The vacant throne from whence my sins depart,
And make a willing captive of my heart;
Till grace completely shall my soul subdue,
Thy conquest full, and my subjection true.

There were more lines on the same subject, but these were the beginning; and these touching me so sensibly I have remembered them distinctly ever since, and have, I believe, repeated them to myself a thousand times.

I pressed him no more you may be sure, after an answer so very particular and affecting as this was; it was easy to see the man was a sincere penitent, not sorrowing for the punishment he was suffering under; for his condition was no part of his affliction, he was rather thankful for it, as above; but his concern was a feeling and affecting sense of the wicked and abominable life he had led, the abhorred crimes he had committed both against God and man, and the little

sense he had had of the condition he was in, and that even till he came to the place where he now was.

I asked him if he had no reflections of this kind after or before his sentence? He told me Newgate (for the prison at Bristol is called so, it seems, as well as that at London) was a place that seldom made penitents, but often made villains worse, till they learnt to defy God and devil. But that, however, he could look back with this satisfaction, that he could say he was not altogether insensible of it, even then; but nothing that amounted to a thorough serious looking up to heaven; that he often indeed looked in, and reflected upon his past misspent life, even before he was in prison, when the intervals of his wicked practices gave some time for reflection, and he would sometimes say to himself, Whither am I going? to what will all these things bring me at last? and where will they end? sin and shame follow one another, and I shall certainly come to the gallows; then, said he, I would strike upon my breast, and say, O wicked wretch! when will you repent? and would answer myself as often, Never! never! never! except it be in a gaol, or at a gibbet.

Then, said he, I would weep and sigh, and look back a little upon my wretched life, the history of which would make the world amazed; but, alas! the prospect was so dark, and it filled me with so much terror, that I could not bear it; then I would fly to wine and company for relief; that wine brought on excess, and that company, being always wicked like yourself, brought on temptation, and then all reflection vanished and I was the same devil as before.

He spoke this with so much affection, that his face was ever smiling when he talked of it, and yet his eyes had tears standing in them at the same time, and all the time; for he had a delightful sorrow, if that be a proper expression in speaking of it.

This was a strange relation to me, and began to affect me after a manner that I did not understand. I loved to hear him talk of it, and yet it always left a kind of a dead lump behind it upon my heart, which I could give no reason for, nor imagine to what it tended; I had a heaviness on my soul, without being able to describe it, or to say what ailed me.

Well, he went on with his relation. After this, says he, I fell into the hands of a justice for a trifle, a piece of sport in our crime; and I, that for a hundred robberies, as well on

the highway as otherwise, the particulars of which would fill a book to give an account of, ought, whenever I was taken, to be hanged in chains, and who, if it had been public, could not have failed of having twenty people come in against me, was privately hurried into a country gaol under a wrong name; tried for a small fact, within benefit of clergy, and in which I was not principally guilty, and by this means obtained the favour of being transported.

And what think you, said he, has most sensibly affected me, and brought on the blessed change that, I hope I may say, God has wrought in my soul. Not the greatness of my crimes, but the wonders of that merciful providence, which, when it has mercy in store for a man, often brings him into the briers, into sorrow and misery for lesser sins, that men may be led to see how they are spared from the punishment due to them, for the greater guilt which they know lies upon them. Do you think, that when I received the grant of transportation, I could be insensible what a miracle of divine goodness such a thing must be, to one who had so many ways deserved to be hanged, and must infallibly have died, if my true name had been known, or if the least notice had been given that it was such a notorious wretch as I that was in custody. There began the first motive of repentance; for certainly the goodness of our great Creator in sparing us, when we forfeit our lives to his justice, and his merciful bringing us out of the miseries which we plunge ourselves into, when we have no way to extricate ourselves; his bringing those very miseries to be the means of our deliverance, and working good to us out of evil, when we are working the very evil out of his good; I say, these things are certainly the strongest motives to repentance that are in the world; and the sparing thieves from the gallows certainly makes more penitents than the gallows itself.

It is true, continued he, that the terror of punishment works strongly upon the mind; in view of death men are filled with horror of soul, and immediately they call that repentance which I doubt is too often mistaken, being only a kind of anguish in the soul, which breeds a grief for the punishment that is to be suffered; an amazement founded upon the dreadful view of what is to follow. But the sense of mercy is quite another thing; this seizes all the passions and all the affections, and works a sincere unfeigned abhor-

rence of the crime, as a crime; as an offence against our Benefactor, as an act of baseness and ingratitude to him, who has given us life, and all the blessings and comforts of life; and who has conquered us by continuing to do us good, when he has been provoked to destroy us.

This, sir, says he, has been the fountain of that repentance which I so much rejoice in; this is the delightful sorrow, says he, that I spoke of just now; and this makes smiles sit on my face while tears run from my eyes, a joy that I can no otherwise express, than by telling you, sir, that I never lived a happy day since I came to an age of acting in the world, till I landed in this country, and worked in your plantation, naked and hungry, weary and faint, oppressed with cold in one season, and heat in the other; then I began to see into my own ways, and see the difference between the hardships of the body and the torment of the mind. Before I revelled in fulness, and here I struggled with hard fare; then I wallowed in sloth and voluptuous ease; here I laboured till nature sometimes was just sinking under the load; but with this difference in the felicity of either case, namely, that there I had a hell in my soul, was filled with horror and confusion, was a daily terror to myself, and always expected a miserable end; whereas here I had a blessed calm of soul, an emblem and forerunner of heaven, thankful and humble, adoring that mercy that had snatched me out of the jaws of the devil; these took up my thoughts, and made my most weary hours pleasant to me, my labour light, and my heart cheerful. I never lay down on my hard lodging but I praised God with the greatest excess of affection, not only that it was not the condemned hole, and that I was delivered from the death I had deserved, but that it was not Shooter's-hill, that I was not still a robber, a terror to just and honest men, a plunderer of the innocent and the poor, a thief, and a villain, that ought to be rooted out from the earth for the safety of others; but that I was delivered from the horrid temptation of sinning, to support my luxury, and making one vice necessary to another; and this, I bear witness, is sufficient to sweeten the bitterest sorrow, and make any man be thankful for Virginia, or a worse place, if that can be.

He then entertained me with an opinion of his, that if it were possible for the face of heaven and hell to be disclosed and laid open, and that men could be made capable of seeing

distinctly and separately, the joys and glory and utmost felicity of one, and the horrors of the other, and to make a judgment of both according to the power of human reasoning, the first would have a stronger and more powerful effect to reform the world than the latter: but this we had farther discourses about on many occasions.

If it should be inquired, how I was capable of hearing all this, and having no impressions made upon my mind by it, especially when it so many ways suited my own case, and the condition of the former part of my life, I shall answer that presently by myself. However, I took no notice of it to him, for he had quite other notions of me than I had of myself; nor did I, as is usual in such cases, enter into any confidence with him on my own story, only that I took sometimes the occasion to let him know, that I did not come over to Virginia in the capacity of a criminal, or that I was not transported; which, considering how many of the inhabitants there were so who then lived in good circumstances, was needful enough to be done.

But as to myself, it was enough that I was in condition now, 'twas no matter to anybody, what I had been, and as it was grown pretty much out of memory from what original disaster I came into the country, or that I was ever a servant otherwise than voluntary, and that it was no business of mine to expose myself, so I kept that part close; but for all that, it was impossible for me to conceal the disorder I was in as often as he talked of these things. I had hitherto gone on upon a notion of things founded only in their appearance, as they affected me with good or evil, esteeming the happy and unhappy part of life to be those that gave me ease or sorrow, without regarding, or indeed much understanding, how far those turns of life were influenced by the Giver of life; or how far they were all directed by a sovereign God that governs the world, and all the creatures it had made.

As I had no education but as you have heard, so I had had no instruction, no knowledge of religion, or indeed of the meaning of it; and though I was now in a kind of search after religion, it was a mere looking, as it were, into the world to see what kind of a thing or place it was, and what had been done in it; but as to him that made it, there had truly been scarce a creature among all that he had made, with souls

in them, that were so entirely without the knowledge of God as I was, and made so little inquiry about it.

But the serious, affectionate discourse of this young man began to have different effects upon me, and I began to say to myself, This man's reflections are certainly very just; but what a creature am I, and what have I been doing! I that never once did this in all my life; that never said so much. God I thank thee for all that I have been saved from, or all that I have been brought to in this world; and yet my life has been as full of variety, and I have been as miraculously delivered from dangers and mischiefs, and as many of them, as ever he has; and if it has all been brought to pass by an invisible hand in mercy to me, what have I been doing! and where have I lived! that I only should be the most thoughtless and unthankful of all God's creatures!

This indeed began to grow upon me, and made me very melancholy; but as to religion, I understood so little about it, that if I had resolved upon any such thing as a new course of life, or to set about a religious change, I knew not at which end to begin, or what to do about it.

One day it happened that my tutor, for so I always called him, had the Bible in his hand, and was looking in it, as he generally did many times a day, though I knew not for what. Seeing the Bible, I took it out of his hands, and went to look into it, which I had done so little before, that I think I might safely say I had never read a chapter in it all my life; he was talking of the Bible then as a book only, and where he had it, and how he brought it to Virginia, and in some ecstacy he took and kissed it. This blessed book! says he, this was all the treasure I brought out from England with me; and a comfortable treasure it has been to me, added he, I would not have been without it in my sorrows for any other treasure in the world, and so he went on at large.

I that had no notion of what he meant, only, as I have said above, some young infant thoughts about the works of Providence in the world, and its merciful dealings with me, took the book out of his hand and went to look into it, and the book opened at the Acts xxvi. 28, where Felix says to St. Paul, "almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." I think, says I, here's a line hits me to a tittle, upon the long account you have given of yourself, and I must say them to

you, as the governor here said; and so I read the words to him. He blushed at the text, and returns, I could answer you in the very words the apostle returned to him in the next verse, "I would thou wert both, I wish almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds."

I was now more than thirty years old by my own account, and, as well as it was possible for me to keep a reckoning of my age, who had nobody left that ever knew my beginning; I was, I say, above thirty years old, and had gone through some variety in the world; but as I was perfectly abandoned in my infancy, and utterly without instruction in my youth, so I was entirely ignorant of everything that was worthy the name of religion in the world; and this was the first time that ever any notion of religious things entered into my heart. I was surprised at this man's talk, and that several ways particularly, he talked so feelingly of his past circumstances, and they were so like my own, that every time he made a religious inference from his own condition, and argued from one condition of his to another, it struck into my thoughts like a bullet from a gun, that I had certainly as much to be thankful for and to repent of as he had, except only that I had no knowledge of better things to be thankful for, which he had; but in return for that, I was delivered and set up in the world, made a master, and easy, and was in good circumstances, being raised from the very same low distressed condition as he was in, I mean a sold servant; but that he remained so still, so that if his sin had been greater than mine, so his distress was still greater.

This article of gratitude struck deep, and lay heavy upon my mind; I remembered that I was grateful to the last degree to my old master, who had raised me from my low condition, and that I loved the very name of him, or, as might be said, the very ground he trod on; but I had not so much as once thought of any higher obligation, no, nor so much as, like the Pharisee, had said once, "God, I thank thee," to him for all the influence which his providence must have had in my whole affair.

It occurred to me presently, that if none of all these things befall us without the direction of a Divine Power, as my new instructor had told me at large, and that God had ordered everything, the most minute and least transaction of life, insomuch, "that not a hair of our head shall fall to the

ground without his permission;" I say, it occurred to me, that I had been a most unthankful dog to that Providence that had done so much for me; and the consequence of the reflection was immediately this, how justly may that power, so disobliged, take away again his wool and his flax, with which I am now clothed, and reduce me to the misery of my first circumstances.

This perplexed me much, and I was very pensive and sad; in which, however, my new instructor was a constant comforter to me, and I learned every day something or other from him; upon which I told him one morning, that I thought he must leave off teaching me Latin, and teach me religion.

He spoke with a great deal of modesty of his being incapable of informing me of anything that I did not know, and proposed to me to read the scriptures every day as the sure and only fund of instruction. I answered that, in the words of the eunuch to St. Philip, when the apostle asked him if he understood what he read; "How can I, unless some one guide me?"

We talked frequently upon this subject, and I found so much reason to believe he was a sincere convert, that I can speak of him as no other in all I have to say of him. However, I cannot say my thoughts were yet ripened for an operation of that kind; I had some uneasiness about my past life, and I lived now, and had done so before I knew him, a very regular sober life, always taken up in my business, and running into no excesses; but as to commencing penitent, as this man had done, I cannot say I had any convictions upon me sufficient to bring it on, nor had I a fund of religious knowledge to support me in it; so it wore off again gradually, as such things generally do, where the first impressions are not deep enough.

In the meantime, as he read over long lectures of his own disasters to me, and applied them all seriously to me, so our discourse was always very solid and weighty, and we had nothing of levity between us, even when we were not concerned in religious discourses. He read history to me; and, where books were wanting, he gave me ideas of those things which had not been recorded by our modern histories, or at least, that our number of books would not reach. By these things he raised an unquenchable thirst in me, after seeing something that was doing in the world; and the more, be-

cause all the world was at that time engaged, more or less, in the great war wherein the French king might be said to be engaged with and against all the powers of Europe.

Now, I looked upon myself as one buried alive in a remote part of the world, where I could see nothing at all, and hear but a little of what was seen, and that little not till at least half a year after it was done, and sometimes a year or more; and, in a word, the old reproach often came in the way, namely, that even this was not yet the life of a gentleman.

It was true, that this was much nearer to it than that of a pickpocket, and still nearer than that of a sold slave; but, in short, this would not do, and I could receive no satisfaction in it. I had now a second plantation, a very considerable one, and it went forward very well. I had on it almost a hundred servants already of sundry sorts, and an overseer that I had a great deal of reason to say I might depend upon, and but that I had a third in embryo, and newly begun, I had nothing to hinder me from going where I pleased.

However, I now began to frame my thoughts for a voyage to England, resolving then to act as I should see cause, but with a secret resolution to see more of the world if possible, and realize those things to my mind, which I had hitherto only entertained remote ideas of by the help of books.

Accordingly I pushed forward the settlement of my third plantation, in order to bring it to be in a posture, either to be let to a tenant, or left in trust with an overseer, as I should find occasion.

Had I resolved to leave it to an overseer, or steward, no man in the world could have been fit for it like my tutor; but I could not think of parting with him who was the cause of my desire of travelling, and who I concluded to make my partner in my travels.

It was three years after this before I could get things in order, fit for my leaving the country. In this time I delivered my tutor from his bondage, and would have given him his liberty, but, to my great disappointment, I found that I could not empower him to go for England till his time was expired, according to the certificate of his transportation, which was registered; so I made him one of my overseers, and thereby raised him gradually to a prospect of living in the same manner, and by the like steps that my good benefactor raised me, only that I did not assist him to

enter upon planting for himself as I was assisted, neither was I upon the spot to do it; but this man's diligence and honest application, even unassisted, delivered himself, any farther than, as I say, by making him an overseer, which was only a present ease and deliverance to him, from the hard labour and fare which he endured as a servant.

However, in this trust he behaved so faithfully, and so diligently, that it recommended him in the country; and when I came back I found him in circumstances very different from what I left him in, besides his being my principal manager for near twenty years, as you shall hear in its place.

I mention these things the more at large, that, if any unhappy wretch, who may have the disaster to fall into such circumstances as these, may come to see this account, they may learn the following short lessons from these examples:—

I. That Virginia, and a state of transportation, may be the happiest place and condition they were ever in for this life, as, by a sincere repentance, and a diligent application to the business they are put to, they are effectually delivered from a life of flagrant wickedness, and put in a perfect new condition, in which they have no temptation to the crimes they formerly committed, and have a prospect of advantage for the future.

II. That in Virginia, the meanest and most despicable creature, after his time of servitude is expired, if he will but apply himself with diligence and industry to the business of the country, is sure (life and health supposed) both of living well and growing rich.

As this is a foundation which the most unfortunate wretch alive is entitled to, a transported felon is, in my opinion, a much happier man than the most prosperous untaken thief in the nation; nor are those poor young people so much in the wrong as some imagine them to be, that go voluntarily over to those countries; and, in order to get themselves carried over and placed there, freely bind themselves there; especially if the persons into whose hands they fall do anything honestly by them; for, as it is to be supposed that those poor people knew not what course to take before, or had miscarried in their conduct before, here they are sure to

be immediately provided for, and, after the expiration of their time, to be put in a condition to provide for themselves. But I return to my own story, which now begins a new scene.

I was now making provision for my going to England. After having settled my plantation in such hands as was fully to my satisfaction, my first work was to furnish myself with such a stock of goods and money as might be sufficient for my occasions abroad, and particularly might allow me to make large returns to Maryland, for the use and supply of all my plantations; but when I came to look nearer into the voyage, it occurred to me that it would not be prudent to put my cargo all on board the same ship that I went in; so I shipped at several times five hundred hogsheads of tobacco in several ships for England, giving notice to my correspondent in London that I would embark about such a time to come over myself, and ordering him to insure for a considerable sum, proportioned to the value of my cargo.

About two months after this I left the place, and embarked for England in a stout ship, carrying twenty-four guns, and about six hundred hogsheads of tobacco, and we left the capes of Virginia on the 1st of August. We had a very sour and rough voyage for the first fortnight, though it was in a season so generally noted for good weather.

After we had been about eleven days at sea, having the wind most part of the time blowing very hard at west, or between the west and north-west, by which we were carried a great way farther to the eastward than they usually go in their course for England, we met with a furious tempest, which held us five days, blowing most of the time excessive hard, and by which we were obliged to run away afore the wind as the seamen call it, wheresoever it was our lot to go. By this storm our ship was greatly damaged, and some leaks we had, but not so bad that by the diligence of the seamen they were stopped; however, the captain, after having beaten up again as well as he could against the weather, and the sea going very high, at length he resolved to go away for the Bermudas.

I was not seaman enough to understand what the reason of their disputes was, but in their running for the islands, it seems they overshot the latitude, and could never reach the islands of Bermudas again. The master and the mate differed

to an extremity about this, their reckonings being more than usually wide of one another, the storm having driven them a little out of their knowledge. The master being a positive man, insulted the mate about it, and threatened to expose him for it when he came to England. The mate was an excellent sea artist, and an experienced sailor, but withal a modest man; and though he insisted upon his being right, did it in respectful terms, and as it became him; but after several days' dispute, when the weather came to abate, and the heavens to clear up, that they could take their observations and know where they were, it appeared that the mate's account was right, and the captain was mistaken, for they were then in the latitude of 29 degrees, and quite out of the wake of the Bermudas.

The mate made no indecent use of the discovery at all, and the captain being convinced, carried it civilly to him, and so the heats were over among them; but the next question was, what they should do next. Some were for going one way, some another, but all agreed that they were not in a condition to go on the direct course for England, unless they could have a southerly or south-west wind, which had not been our fate since we came to sea.

Upon the whole, they resolved by consent to steer away to the Canaries, which was the nearest land they could make, except the Cape de Verd islands, which were too much to the southward for us, if it could be avoided.

Upon this, they stood away N.E., and the wind hanging still westerly, or to the northward of the west, we made good way, and in about fifteen days' sail we made the Pico Teneriffe, being a monstrous hill in one of the Canary islands. Here we refreshed ourselves, got fresh water and some fresh provisions, and plenty of excellent wine, but no harbour to run into, to take care of the ship, which was leaky and tender, having had so much very bad weather; so we were obliged to do as well as we could, and put to sea again, after riding at the Canaries four days only.

From the Canaries we had tolerable weather, and a smooth sea, till we came into the soundings, so they call the mouth of the British Channel, and the wind blowing hard at the N. and N.W. obliged us to keep a larger offing, as the seamen call it, at our entrance into the Channel, when, behold! in the grey of the morning, a French cruiser or privateer of

twenty-six guns appeared, and crowded after us with all the sail they could make. In short, our captain exchanged a broadside or two with them, which was terrible work to me, for I had never seen such before, the Frenchman's guns having raked us, and killed and wounded six of our best men.

In short, after a fight long enough to show us, that if we would not be taken we must resolve to sink by her side, for there was no room to expect deliverance, and a fight long enough to save the master's credit, we were taken, and the ship carried away to St. Maloes.

I was not much concerned for the loss I had in the ship, because I knew I had sufficient in the world somewhere or other; but as I was effectually stripped of everything I had about me, and even almost my clothes from my back, I was in but a very indifferent condition; but somebody informing the captain of the privateer, that I was a passenger and a merchant, he called for me and inquired into my circumstances, and coming to hear from myself how I had been used, obliged the seamen to give me a coat and hat, and a pair of shoes, which they had taken off me, and himself gave me a morning-gown of his own to wear while I was in his ship, and, to give him his due, treated me very well.

I had, however, besides my being taken, the mortification to be detained on board the cruiser, and seeing the ship I was in manned with Frenchmen and sent away, as above, for St. Maloes; and this was a greater mortification to me afterwards, when, being brought into St. Maloes, I heard that our ship was re-taken in her passage to St. Maloes by an English man-of-war, and carried to Portsmouth.

When our ship was sent away, the Rover cruised abroad again in the mouth of the Channel for some time, but met with no purchase; at last they made a sail, which proved to be one of their nation, and one of their own trade, from whom they learned, the news having been carried to England, that some French privateers lay off and on in the soundings, that three English men-of-war were come out from Plymouth, on purpose to cruise in the Channel, and that they would certainly meet with us. Upon this intelligence, the Frenchman, a bold brave fellow, far from shrinking from his work, steers away N.E. for St. George's Channel, and in the latitude of 48 degrees and a half, unhappily

enough, meets with a large and rich English ship, bound home from Jamaica; it was in the grey of the morning, and very clear, when a man on the roundtop cried out, *Au voile*, a sail. I was in hopes indeed it had been the English man-of-war, and, by the hurry and clutter they were in, to get all ready for a fight, I concluded it was so, and got out of my hammock, for I had no cabin to lie in, that I might see what it was; but I soon found that my hopes were in vain, and it was on the wrong side; for that being on our larboard bow, the ship lying then northward to make the coast of Ireland, by the time I was turned out, I could perceive they had all their sails bent and full, having begun to chase, and making great way. On the other hand, it was evident the ship saw them too, and knew what they were; and, to avoid them, stretched away with all the canvass they could lay on for the coast of Ireland, to run in there for harbour.

Our privateer, it was plain, infinitely outsailed her, running two feet for her one, and towards evening came up with them. Had they been able to have held it but six hours longer, they would have got into Limerick river, or somewhere under shore, so that we should not have ventured upon them, but we came up with them, and the captain, when he saw there was no remedy, bravely brought to, and prepared to fight. She was a ship of thirty guns, but deep in the sea, cumbered between decks with goods, and could not run out her lower deck guns, the sea also going pretty high, though at last she ventured to open her gun-room ports, and fire with three guns on a side; but her worst fate was, she sailed heavy, being deep loaden, and the Frenchman had run up by her side, and poured in his broadside, and was soon ready again. However, as she was well manned too, and that the English sailors bestirred themselves, they gave us their broadsides too very nimbly and heartily, and I found the Frenchman had a great many men killed at the first brush, but the next was worse, for the English ship, though she did not sail so well as the Frenchman, was a bigger ship and strong built, and as we (the French) bore down upon them again, the English run boldly on board us, and laid thwart our hawse, lashing themselves fast to us. Then it was that the English captain run out his lower tier of guns, and indeed tore the Frenchman so, that, had he held it, the privateer would have had the worst of it. But

the Frenchman, with admirable readiness indeed, and courage, the captain appearing everywhere with his sword in his hand, bestirred themselves, and loosing themselves from the English ship, thrusting her off with brooms, and pouring their small shot so thick, that the other could not appear upon deck. I say, clearing themselves thus, they came to lie a broadside of each other, when, by long firing, the English ship was at length disabled, her mizen-mast and bowsprit shot away, and, which was worst of all, her captain killed; so that, after a fight which held all night, for they fought in the dark, and part of the next day, they were obliged to strike.

I was civilly desired by the French captain to go down into the hold while the fight held, and, besides the civility of it, I found he was not willing I should be upon deck; perhaps he thought I might have some opportunity to do hurt, though I knew not how it could be. However, I was very ready to go down, for I had no mind to be killed, especially by my own friends, so I went down and sat by the surgeon, and had the opportunity to find, that the first broadside the English fired, seven wounded men were brought down to the surgeon, and thirty-three more afterwards, that is to say, when the English lay thwart their bow, and after they cleared themselves there were about eleven more; so that they had fifty-one men wounded, and about twenty-two killed; the Englishman had eighteen men killed and wounded, among whom was the captain.

The French captain however triumphed in this prize, for it was an exceeding rich ship, having abundance of silver on board; and after the ship was taken, and they had plundered all the great cabin afforded, which was very considerable, the mate promised the captain, that, if he would give him his liberty, he would discover six thousand pieces of eight to him privately, which none of the men should know of; the captain engaged, and gave it under his hand to set him at liberty as soon as he came on shore. Accordingly, in the night, after all was either turned in, as they call it, or employed on the duty of the watch, the captain and the mate of the prize went on board, and having faithfully discovered the money, which lay in a place made on purpose to conceal it, the captain resolved to let it lie till they arrived, and then he conveyed it on shore for his own

use; so that the owners, nor the seamen, ever came to any share of it, which by the way was a fraud in the captain; but the mate paid his ransom by the discovery, and the captain gave him his liberty very punctually, as he had promised, and two hundred pieces of eight to carry him to England, and to make good his losses.

When he had made this prize, the captain thought of nothing more than how to get safe to France with her, for she was a ship sufficient to enrich all his men and his owners also. The account of her cargo, by the captain's books, of which I took a copy, was in general:

260 hogsheads of sugar.
187 smaller casks of sugar.
176 barrels of indigo.
28 casks of pimento.
42 bags of cotton wool.
80 cwt. of elephants' teeth.
60 small casks of rum.
18,000 pieces of eight, besides the six thousand concealed.

Several parcels of drugs, tortoiseshell, sweetmeats, called succades, chocolate, lime juice, and other things of considerable value.

This was a terrible loss among the English merchants, and a noble booty for the rogues that took it; but as it was in open war, and by fair fighting, as they call it, there was no objection to be made against them, and, to give them their due, they fought bravely for it.

CHAPTER XII.

WE LAND AT BOURDEAUX, IN FRANCE—I GET RID OF MY CAPTAIN WITHOUT PAYING RANSOM, AND ARRIVE AT GHENT, WHERE I JOIN THE ARMY—PROCEEDINGS THERE —I ARRIVE IN LONDON, AND HEAR NEWS OF MAJOR JACK—I FALL IN LOVE—MY MISTRESS'S ARTS TO ENTRAP ME INTO MATRIMONY—I MARRY, AND REPENT IT.

THE captain was not so bold as to meet the English men-of-war before, but he was as wary now; for, having a prize of such value in his hands, he was resolved not to lose her again, if he could help it: so he stood away to the southward, and that so far, that I once thought he was resolved to go into the Straits, and home by Marseilles. But having sailed to the latitude of 45 degrees 45 minutes, or thereabouts, he steered away east, into the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, and carried us all into the river of Bourdeaux, where, on notice of his arrival with such a prize, his owners or principals, came overland to see him, and where they consulted what to do with her. The money they secured to be sure, and some of the cargo; but the ships sailed afterwards along the coast to St. Malo, taking the opportunity of some French men-of-war which were cruising on the coast, to be their convoy as far as Ushant.

Here the captain rewarded and dismissed the English mate, as I have said, who got a passage from thence to Dieppe by sea, and after that into England, by the help of a passport, through Flanders to Ostend: the captain, it seems, the more willingly shipped him off, that he might not discover to others what he had discovered to him.

I was now at Bourdeaux, in France, and the captain asked me one morning what I intended to do? I did not understand him at first, but he soon gave me to understand, that I was now either to be delivered up to the state as an English prisoner, and so be carried to Dinant, in Britanny, or to find means to have myself exchanged, or to pay my ransom, and this ransom he told me at first was three hundred crowns.

I knew not what to do, but desired he would give me time to write to England to my friends; for that I had a cargo of

goods sent to them by me from Virginia, but I did not know but it might have fallen into such hands as his were, and if it was, I knew not what would be my fate. He readily granted that, so I wrote by the post, and had the satisfaction, in answer to it, to hear that the ship I was taken in had been retaken, and carried into Portsmouth; which I doubted would have made my new master more strict, and perhaps insolent, but he said nothing of it to me, nor I to him, though, as I afterwards understood, he had advice of it before.

However, this was a help to me, and served to more than pay my ransom to the captain; and my correspondent in London, hearing of my being alive, and at Bourdeaux, immediately sent me a letter of credit upon an English merchant at Bourdeaux, for whatever I might have occasion for. As soon as I received this, I went to the merchant, who honoured the letter of credit, and told me I should have what money I pleased. But as I, who was before a mere stranger in the place, and knew not what course to take, had now, as it were, a friend to communicate my affairs to and consult with, as soon as I told him my case, Hold, says he, if that be your case, I may perhaps find a way to get you off without a ransom.

There was, it seems, a ship bound home to France from Martinico, taken off Cape Finisterre by an English man-of-war, and a merchant of Rochelle being a passenger, was taken on board, and brought into Plymouth. This man had made great solicitation by his friends to be exchanged, pleading poverty, and that he was unable to pay any ransom; my friend told me something of it, but not much, only bade me not be too forward to pay any money to the captain, but pretend I could not hear from England. This I did till the captain appeared impatient.

After some time the captain told me I had used him ill; that I had made him expect a ransom, and he had treated me courteously, and been at expense to subsist me, and that I held him in suspense, but that, in short, if I did not procure the money, he would send me to Dinant in ten days, to lie there as the king's prisoner till I should be exchanged. My merchant gave me my cue, and by his direction I answered, I was very sensible of his civility, and sorry he should lose what expenses he had been at; but that I found my friends forgot me, and what to do I did not know, and

that, rather than impose upon him, I must submit to go to Dinant, or where he thought fit to send me; but that if ever I obtained my liberty, and came into England, I would not fail to reimburse him what expense he had been at for my subsistence; and so, in short, made my case very bad in all my discourse. He shook his head and said little, but the next day entered me in the list of English prisoners to be at the king's charge, as appointed by the intendant of the place, and to be sent away into Britanny.

I was then out of the captain's power, and immediately the merchant, with two others who were friends to the merchant prisoner at Plymouth, went to the intendant and gained an order for the exchange, and my friend giving security for my being forthcoming, in case the other was not delivered, I had my liberty immediately, and went home with him to his house.

Thus we bilked the captain of his ransom money; but, however, my friend went to him, and letting him know that I was exchanged by the governor's order, paid him whatever he could say he was in disburse on my account; and it was not then in the captain's power to object, or to claim anything for a ransom.

I got passage from hence to Dunkirk on board a French vessel, and having a certificate of an exchanged prisoner from the intendant at Bourdeaux, I had a passport given me to go into the Spanish Netherlands, and so whither I pleased.

Accordingly, I came to Ghent, in April ——, just as the armies were going to take the field. I had no dislike to the business of the army, but I thought I was a little above it now, and had other things to look to; for that, in my opinion, nobody went into the field but those that could not live at home; and yet I resolved to see the manner of it a little too: so having made an acquaintance with an English officer, quartered at Ghent, I told him my intention, and he invited me to go with him, and offered me his protection as a volunteer, that I should quarter with him in his tent, and live as I would, and either carry arms or not, as I saw occasion.

The campaign was none of the hardest that had been, or was like to be; so that I had the diversion of seeing the service, as it was proper to call it, without much hazard; indeed, I did not see any considerable action, for there was not much fighting that campaign. As to the merit of the cause

on either side I knew nothing of it, nor had I suffered any of the disputes about it to enter into my thoughts. The Prince of Orange had been made King of England, and the English troops were all on his side; and I heard a great deal of swearing and damning for King William among the soldiers; but as for fighting, I observed the French beat them several times, and particularly the regiment my friend belonged to, was surrounded in a village where they were posted, I knew not upon what occasion, and all taken prisoners. But by great good hap, I being not in service, and so not in command, was strolled away that day to see the country about; for it was my delight to see the strong towns, and observe the beauty of their fortifications; and while I diverted myself thus, I had the happy deliverance of not being taken by the French for that time.

When I came back, I found the enemy possessed of the town, but as I was no soldier, they did me no harm, and having my French passport in my pocket, they gave me leave to go to Newport, where I took the packet-boat, and came over to England, landing at Deal instead of Dover, the weather forcing us into the Downs; and thus my short campaign ended, and this was my second essay at the trade of soldiering.

When I came to London, I was very well received by my friend, to whom I had consigned my effects, and I found myself in very good circumstances; for all my goods, which, as above, by several ships, I had consigned to him, came safe to hand; and my overseers that I had left behind, had shipped at several times four hundred hogsheads of tobacco to my correspondent in my absence, being the product of my plantation, or part of it, for the time of my being abroad; so that I had above 1,000*l.* in my factor's hands, two hundred hogsheads of tobacco besides left in hand, not sold.

I had nothing to do now, but entirely to conceal myself, from all that had any knowledge of me before, and this was the easiest thing in the world to do; for I was grown out of everybody's knowledge, and most of those I had known were grown out of mine. My captain, who went with me, or, rather, who carried me away, I found by inquiring at the proper place, had been rambling about the world, came to London, fell into his own trade, which he could not forbear, and growing an eminent highwayman, had made his exit

at the gallows, after a life of fourteen years most exquisite and successful rogueries, the particulars of which would make, as I observed, an admirable history. My other brother Jack, who I called major, followed the like wicked trade, but was a man of more gallantry and generosity; and having committed innumerable depredations upon mankind, yet had always so much dexterity as to bring himself off, till at length he was laid fast in Newgate, and loaded with irons, and would certainly have gone the same way as the captain, but he was so dexterous a rogue, that no gaol, no fetters, would hold him; and he, with two more, found means to knock off their irons, worked their way through the wall of the prison, and let themselves down on the outside in the night; so escaping, they found means to get into France, where he followed the same trade, and with so much success, that he grew famous by the name of Anthony, and had the honour, with three of his comrades, whom he had taught the English way of robbing generously, as they called it, without murdering or wounding, or ill-using those they robbed, I say, he had the honour to be broke upon the wheel at the Greve in Paris.

All these things I found means to be fully informed of, and to have a long account of the particulars of their conduct, from some of their comrades who had the good fortune to escape, and who I got the knowledge of, without letting them so much as guess at who I was, or upon what account I inquired.

I was now at the height of my good fortune; indeed I was in very good circumstances, and being of a frugal temper from the beginning, I saved things together as they came, and yet lived very well too; particularly I had the reputation of a very considerable merchant, and one that came over vastly rich from Virginia; and as I frequently bought supplies for my several families and plantations there, as they wrote to me for them, so I passed, I say, for a great merchant.

I lived single, indeed, and in lodgings, but I began to be very well known, and though I had subscribed my name only Jack to my particular correspondent, yet, the French, among whom I lived near a year, as I have said, not understanding what Jack meant, called me Monsieur Jacque, and Colonel Jacques, and so gradually Colonel Jacque; so I was

called in the certificate of exchanging me with the other prisoner, so that I went so also into Flanders; upon which, and seeing my certificate of exchange, as above, I was called Colonel Jacques in England by my friend, who I called correspondent; and thus I passed for a foreigner, and a Frenchman, and I was infinitely fond of having everybody take me for a Frenchman; and as I spoke French very well, having learned it by continuing so long among them, so I went constantly to the French church in London, and spoke French upon all occasions, as much as I could; and, to complete the appearance of it, I got me a French servant to do my business, I mean as to my merchandise, which only consisted in receiving and disposing of tobacco, of which I had about five hundred to six hundred hogsheads a year from my own plantations, and in supplying my people with necessaries, as they wanted them.

In this private condition I continued about two years more, when the devil owing me a spleen ever since I refused being a thief, paid me home, with my interest, by laying a snare in my way, which had almost ruined me.

There dwelt a lady in the house opposite to the house I lodged in, who made an extraordinary figure indeed; she went very well dressed, and was a most beautiful person. She was well-bred, sung admirably fine, and sometimes I could hear her very distinctly, the houses being over against one another, in a narrow court, not much unlike Three-king-court in Lombard-street.

This lady put herself so often in my way, that I could not in good manners forbear taking notice of her, and giving her the ceremony of my hat, when I saw her at the window, or at the door, or when I passed her in the court, so that we became almost acquainted at a distance. Sometimes she also visited at the house I lodged at, and it was generally contrived, that I should be introduced when she came, and thus by degrees we became more intimately acquainted, and often conversed together in the family, but always in public, at least for a great while.

I was a mere boy in the affair of love, and knew the least of what belonged to a woman of any man in Europe of my age; the thoughts of a wife, much less of a mistress, had never so much as taken the least hold of my head, and I had been

till now as perfectly unacquainted with the sex, and as unconcerned about them, as I was when I was ten years old, and lay in a heap of ashes at a glass-house.

But I know not by what witchcraft in the conversation of this woman, and her singling me out upon several occasions, I began to be ensnared, I knew not how, or to what end; and was on a sudden so embarrassed in my thoughts about her, that, like a charm, she had me always in her circle. If she had not been one of the subtlest women on earth, she could never have brought me to have given myself the least trouble about her, but I was drawn in by the magic of a genius capable to deceive a more wary capacity than mine, and it was impossible to resist her.

She attacked me without ceasing, with the fineness of her conduct, and with arts which were impossible to be ineffectual; she was ever, as it were, in my view, often in my company, and yet kept herself so on the reserve, so surrounded continually with obstructions, that for several months after she could perceive I sought an opportunity to speak to her, she rendered it impossible, nor could I ever break in upon her, she kept her guard so well.

This rigid behaviour was the greatest mystery that could be, considering, at the same time, that she never declined my seeing her, or conversing with me in public; but she held it on, she took care never to set next me, that I might slip no paper into her hand, or speak softly to her; she kept somebody or other always between, that I could never come up to her; and thus, as if she was resolved really to have nothing to do with me, she held me at the bay several months.

All this while nothing was more certain than that she intended to have me, if she could catch, and it was indeed a kind of a catch, for she managed all by art, and drew me in with the most resolute backwardness, that it was almost impossible not to be deceived by it. On the other hand, she did not appear to be a woman despicable, neither was she poor, or in a condition that should require so much art to draw any man in; but the cheat was really on my side; for she was unhappily told that I was vastly rich, a great merchant, and that she would live like a queen, which I was not at all instrumental in putting upon her, neither did I know that she went upon that motive.

She was too cunning to let me perceive how easy she was to be had; on the contrary, she run all the hazards of bringing me to neglect her entirely, that one would think any woman in the world could do; and I have wondered often since, that how it was possible it should fail of making me perfectly averse to her; for as I had a perfect indifferency for the whole sex, and never, till then, entertained any notion of them, they were no more to me than a picture hanging up against a wall.

As we conversed freely together in public, so she took a great many occasions to rally the men, and the weakness they were guilty of, in letting the women insult them as they did. She thought if the men had not been fools, marriage had been only treaties of peace between two neighbours, or alliances offensive or defensive, which must necessarily have been carried on sometimes by interviews and personal treaties; but oftener by ambassadors, agents, and emissaries on both sides; but that the women had outwitted us, and brought us upon our knees, and made us whine after them, and lower ourselves, so as we could never pretend to gain our equality again.

I told her I thought it was a decency to the ladies, to give them the advantage of denying a little, that they might be courted, and that I should not like a woman the worse for denying me. I expect it, madam, says I, when I wait on you to-morrow; intimating that I intended it. You shan't be deceived, sir, says she, for I'll deny now, before you ask me the question.

I was dashed so effectually, with so malicious, so devilish an answer, that I returned with a little sullenness, I shan't trespass upon you yet, madam, and I shall be very careful not to offend you when I do.

It is the greatest token of your respect, sir, says she, that you are able to bestow upon me, and the most agreeable too, except one, which I will not be out of hopes of obtaining of you in a little time.

What is in my power to oblige you in, madam, said I, you may command me in at any time, especially the way we are talking of; this I spoke still with a resentment very sincere.

It is only, sir, that you would promise to hate me with as much sincerity as I will endeavour to make you a suitable return.

I granted that request, madam, seven years before you asked it, said I, for I heartily hated the whole sex, and scarce know how I came to abate that good disposition in compliment to your conversation; but I assure you that abatement is so little, that it does no injury to your proposal.

There's some mystery in that indeed, sir, said she, for I desired to assist your aversion to women in a more particular manner, and hoped it should never abate under my management. We said a thousand illnatured things after this, but she outdid me, for she had such a stock of bitterness upon her tongue, as no woman ever went beyond her; and yet all this while she was the pleasantest and most obliging creature in every part of our conversation that could possibly be, and meant not one word of what she said, no, not a word. But I must confess it no way answered her end, for it really cooled all my thoughts of her, and I, that had lived in so perfect an indifferency to the sex all my days, was easily returned to that condition again, and began to grow very cold and negligent in my usual respects to her upon all occasions.

She soon found she had gone too far with me; and, in short, that she was extremely out in her politics; that she had to do with one that was not listed yet among the whining sort of lovers, and knew not what it was to adore a mistress in order to abuse her; and that it was not with me as it was with the usual sort of men in love, that are warmed by the cold, and rise in their passions as the ladies fall in their returns. On the contrary, she found that it was quite altered; I was civil to her, as before, but not so forward; when I saw her at her chamber window, I did not throw mine open, as I usually had done, to talk with her; when she sung in the parlour, where I could easily hear it, I did not listen; when she visited at the house where I lodged, I did not always come down, or if I did, I had business which obliged me to go abroad; and yet all this while, when I did come into her company I was as intimate as ever.

I could easily see that this madded her to the heart, and that she was perplexed to the last degree, for she found that she had all her game to play over again; that so absolute a reservedness, even to rudeness and ill manners, was a little too much; but she was a mere posture-mistress in love, and could put herself into what shapes she pleased.

She was too wise to show a fondness or forwardness, that looked like kindness: she knew that was the meanest and last step a woman can take, and lays her under the foot of the man she pretends to; but she was not come to that neither. This cameleon put on another colour, turned, on a sudden, the gravest, soberest, majestic madam, so that any one would have thought she was advanced in age in one week from two-and-twenty to fifty, and this she carried on with so much government of herself, that it did not in the least look like art; but if it was a representation of nature only, it was so like nature itself that nobody living can be able to distinguish. She sung very often in her parlour, as well by herself as with two young ladies who came often to see her; I could see by their books, and her guitar in her hand, that she was singing, but she never opened the window, as she was wont to do; upon my coming to my window, she kept her own always shut, or if it was open, she would be sitting at work, and not look up, it may be, once in half an hour.

If she saw me by accident all this while, she would smile, and speak as cheerfully as ever, but it was but a word or two, and so make her honours and be gone; so that, in a word, we conversed just as we did after I had been there a week.

She tired me quite out at this work; for though I began the strangeness, indeed, yet I did not design the carrying it on so far; but she held it to the last, just in the same manner as she began it. She came to the house where I lodged as usual, and we were often together, supped together, played at cards together, danced together; for in France I accomplished myself with everything that was needful, to make me what I believed myself to be even from a boy, I mean a gentleman: I say, we conversed together, as above, but she was so perfectly another thing to what she used to be in every part of her conversation, that it presently occurred to me, that her former behaviour was a kind of a rant, or fit; that either it was the effect of some extraordinary levity that had come upon her, or that it was done to mimic the coquets of the town, believing it might take with me, who she thought was a Frenchman, and that it was what I loved; but her new gravity was her real natural temper, and indeed it became her so much better, or, as I should say, she acted it so well, that it really brought me back to have, not as much only, but more mind to her than ever I had before.

However it was a great while before I discovered myself, and I stayed indeed to find out, if possible, whether this change was real or counterfeit; for I could not easily believe it was possible the gay humour she used to appear in could be a counterfeit. It was not, therefore, till a year and almost a quarter, that I came to any resolution in my thoughts about her, when, on a mere accident, we came to a little conversation together.

She came to visit at our house as usual, and it happened all the ladies were gone abroad: but, as it fell out, I was in the passage, or entry of the house, going towards the stairs, when she knocked at the door; so stepping back, I opened the door, and she, without any ceremony, came in, and run forward into the parlour, supposing the women had been there; I went in after her, as I could do no less, because she did not know that the family was abroad.

Upon my coming in she asked for the ladies; I told her, I hoped she came to visit me now, for that the ladies were all gone abroad. Are they? (said she), as if surprised, though I understood afterwards she knew it before, as also that I was at home, and then rises up to be gone. No, madam, said I, pray do not go; when ladies come to visit me, I do not use to tire them of my company so soon. That's as illnatured, says she, as you could possibly talk; pray don't pretend I came to visit you. I am satisfied who I came to visit, and satisfied that you know it. Yes, madam, said I, but if I happen to be all of the family that's left at home, then you came to visit me.

I never receive visits from those that I hate, says she.

You have me there, indeed, said I, but you never gave me leave to tell you why I hated you. I hated you because you would never give me an opportunity to tell you I loved you; sure, you took me for some frightful creature, that you would never come near enough, so much as to let me whisper to you that I love you.

I never care to hear anything so disagreeable, says she, though it be spoken ever so softly.

We rallied thus for an hour; in short, she showed the abundance of her wit, and I an abundant deficiency of mine; for though three or four times she provoked me to the last degree, so that once I was going to tell her I had enough of her company, and if she pleased, I would wait upon her to

the door; yet she had always so much witchcraft on her tongue, that she brought herself off again; till, to make the story short, we came at last to talk seriously on both sides about matrimony, and she heard me freely propose it, and answered me directly upon many occasions. For example, she told me I would carry her away to France, or to Virginia, and that she could not think of leaving England, her native country. I told her, I hoped she did not take me for a kidnapper. By the way, I did not tell her how I had been kidnapped myself. She said no, but the consequence of my affairs, which were it seems mostly abroad, might oblige me to go, and she could never think of marrying any man, that she could not be content to go all over the world with, if he had occasion to go himself. This was handsomely expressed, indeed; I made her easy on that point, and thus we began the grand parley; which indeed she drew me into with the utmost art and subtilty, such as was peculiar to herself, but was infinitely her advantage in our treating of marriage; for she made me effectually court her, though at the same time in her design she courted me with the utmost skill, and such skill it was, that her design was perfectly impenetrable to the last moment.

In short, we came nearer and nearer every time we met, and after one casual visit more, in which I had the mighty favour of talking with her alone, I then waited on her every day at her own house, or lodgings rather, and so we set about the work to a purpose, and in about a month we gave the world the slip, and were privately married, to avoid ceremony and the public inconveniency of a wedding.

We soon found a house proper for our dwelling, and so went to housekeeping; we had not been long together, but I found that gay temper of my wife returned, and she threw off the mask of her gravity and good conduct, that I had so long fancied was her mere natural disposition, and now, having no more occasion for disguises, she resolved to seem nothing but what really she was, a wild, untamed colt, perfectly loose, and careless to conceal any part, no, not the worst of her conduct.

She carried on this air of levity to such an excess, that I could not but be dissatisfied at the expense of it, for she kept company that I did not like, lived beyond what I could support, and sometimes lost at play more than I cared to pay; upon which, one day, I took occasion to mention it, but lightly; and said to her, by way of raillery, that we lived

merrily, for as long as it would last. She turned short upon me, What do you mean, says she; why, you do not pretend to be uneasy, do ye? No, no, madam, not I, by no means; it is no business of mine, you know, said I, to inquire what my wife spends, or whether she spends more than I can afford, or less; I only desire the favour to know, as near as you can guess, how long you will please to take to despatch me, for I would not be too long a dying.

I do not know what you talk of, says she; you may die as leisurely, or as hastily, as you please, when your time comes; I an't a going to kill you, as I know of.

But you are a going to starve me, madam, said I, and hunger is as leisurely a death as breaking upon the wheel.

I starve you! why are not you a great Virginia merchant, and did not I bring you 1500*l.*? What would you have? Sure, you can maintain a wife out of that, can't you?

Yes, madam, says I, I could maintain a wife, but not a gamester, though you had brought me 1500*l.* a year; no estate is big enough for a box and dice.

She took fire at that, and flew out in a passion, and, after a great many bitter words, told me in short, that she saw no occasion to alter her conduct; and as for my not maintaining her, when I could not maintain her longer, she would find some way or other to maintain herself.

Some time after the first rattle of this kind, she vouchsafed to let me know that she was pleased to be with child; I was at first glad of it, in hopes it would help to abate her madness; but it was all one, and her being with child only added to the rest, for she made such preparations for her lying-in, and the other appendixes of a child's being born, that, in short, I found she would be downright distracted; and I took the liberty to tell her one day, that she would soon bring herself and me to destruction, and entreated her to consider that such figures as those were quite above us, and out of our circle; and, in short, that I neither could, nor would, allow such expenses; that, at this rate, two or three children would effectually ruin me, and that I desired her to consider what she was doing.

She told me, with an air of disdain, that it was none of her business to consider anything of that matter; that if I could not allow it, she would allow it herself, and I might do my worst.

I begged her to consider things for all that, and not drive me to extremities; that I married her to love and cherish her, and use her as a good wife ought to be used, but not to be ruined and undone by her. In a word, nothing could mollify her, nor any argument persuade her to moderation, but withal she took it so heinously, that I should pretend to restrain her, that she told me in so many words, she would drop her burthen with me, and then, if I did not like it, she would take care of herself, she would not live with me an hour, for she would not be restrained, not she; and talked a long while at that rate.

I told her, as to her child, which she called her burthen, it should be no burthen to me; as to the rest she might do as she pleased; it might, however, do me this favour, that I should have no more lyings-in at the rate of 136*l.* at a time, as I found she intended it should be now. She told me she could not tell that; if she had no more by me, she hoped she should by somebody else. Say you so, madam? said I; then they that get them, shall keep them. She did not know that neither, she said, and so turned it off jeering, and as it were laughing at me.

This last discourse nettled me, I must confess, and the more, because I had a great deal of it, and very often, till, in short, we began at length to enter into a friendly treaty about parting.

Nothing could be more criminal than the several discourses we had upon this subject; she demanded a separate maintenance, and, in particular, at the rate of 300*l.* a year, and I demanded security of her, that she should not run me in debt; she demanded the keeping of the child, with an allowance of 100*l.* a year for that, and I demanding that I should be secured from being charged for keeping any she might have by somebody else, as she had threatened me.

In the interval, and during these contests, she dropped her burthen (as she called it), and brought me a son, a very fine child.

She was content, during her lying-in, to abate a little, though it was but a very little indeed, of the great expense she had intended; and with some difficulty and persuasion, was content with a suit of childbed-linen of 15*l.* instead of one she had intended of threescore; and this she magnified as a particular testimony of her condescension, and a yielding to my avaricious temper, as she called it.

But after she was up again, it was the same thing, and she went on with her humour to that degree, that in a little time she began to carry it on to other excesses, and to have a sort of fellows come to visit her, which I did not like, and once, in particular, stayed abroad all night. The next day, when she came home, she began to cry out first; told me where (as she said) she lay, and that the occasion was a christening, where the company had a feast, and stayed too late; that, if I was dissatisfied, I might inform myself there of all the particulars, where she lay, and the like. I told her coldly, Madam, you do well to suggest my being dissatisfied, for you may be sure I am, and you could expect no other; that as to going to your haunts to inform myself, that is not my business; it is your business to bring testimonies of your behaviour, and to prove where you lay, and in what company; it is enough to me that you lay out of your own house, without your husband's knowledge or consent, and before you and I converse again, I must have some satisfaction of the particulars.

She answered, with all her heart; she was as indifferent as I, and since I took so ill her lying at a friend's house on an extraordinary occasion, she gave me to understand, that it was what she would have me expect, and what she would have the liberty to do when she thought fit.

Well, madam, said I, if I must expect what I cannot allow, you must expect I shall shut my doors by day, against those that keep out of them at night.

She would try me, she said, very speedily; and if I shut the doors against her, she would find a way to make me open them.

Well, madam, says I, you threaten me hard, but I would advise you to consider before you take such measures, for I shall be as good as my word. However, it was not long that we could live together upon these terms; for I found very quickly what company she kept, and that she took a course which I ought not to bear; so I began the separation first, and refused her my bed; we had indeed refrained all converse as husband and wife for about two months before, for I told her very plainly, I would father no brats that were not of my own getting; and matters coming thus gradually to an extremity, too great to continue as it was, she went off one afternoon, and left me a line in writing, signifying that

affairs had come to such a pass between us, that she did not think fit to give me the opportunity of shutting her out of doors, and that therefore she had retired herself to such a place; naming a relation of her own, as scandalous as herself; and that she hoped I would not give her the trouble to sue for her support, in the ordinary course of law, but that, as her occasions required, she should draw bills upon me, which she expected I would not refuse.

CHAPTER XIII.

PART FROM MY WIFE—I AM INSULTED BY ONE OF HER EMISSARIES—WALKING OUT IN THE EVENING I AM WAYLAID AND WOUNDED—I OBTAIN A COMPANY IN A REGIMENT AND GO OVER TO FRANCE—ADVENTURES THERE.

I WAS extremely satisfied with this proceeding, and took care to let her hear of it, though I gave no answer at all to her letter; and as I had taken care before, that whenever she played such a prank as this, she should not be able to carry much with her, so, after she was gone, I immediately broke up housekeeping, sold my furniture by public outcry, and in it everything in particular that was her own, and set a bill upon my door, giving her to understand by it, that she had passed the Rubicon, that as she had taken such a step of her own accord, so there was no room left her ever to think of coming back again.

This was what any one may believe I should not have done, if I had seen any room for a reformation; but she had given me such testimonies of a mind alienated from her husband, in particular espousing her own unsufferable levity, that there was indeed no possibility of our coming afterwards to any terms again.

However, I kept a couple of trusty agents so near her, that I failed not to have a full account of her conduct, though I never let her know anything of me, but that I was gone over to France; as to her bills which she said she would draw upon me, she was as good as her word in drawing one of 30*l.*, which I refused to accept, and never gave her leave to trouble me with another.

It is true, and I must acknowledge it, that all this was a

very melancholy scene of life to me, and but that she took care by carrying herself to the last degree provoking, and continually to insult me, I could never have gone on to the parting with so much resolution, for I really loved her very sincerely, and could have been anything but a beggar and a cuckold with her, but those were intolerable to me, especially as they were put upon me with so much insult and rudeness.

But my wife carried it at last to a point that made all things light and easy to me, for after above a year's separation, and keeping such company as she thought fit, she was pleased to be with child again, in which she had, however, so much honesty, as not to pretend that she had had anything to do with me; what a wretched life she led after this, and how she brought herself to the utmost extremity of misery and distress, I may speak of hereafter.

I had found, soon after our parting, that I had a great deal of reason to put myself into a posture at first not to be imposed upon by her; for I found very quickly that she had run herself into debt in several places very considerably; and that it was upon a supposition that I was liable to those debts; but I was gone, and it was absolutely necessary I should do so; upon which, she found herself obliged, out of her wicked gains, however, whatever she made of them, to discharge most of those debts herself.

As soon as she was delivered of her child, in which my intelligence was so good, that I had gotten sufficient proof of it, I sued her in the ecclesiastical court, in order to obtain a divorce; and as she found it impossible to avoid it, so she declined the defence, and I gained a legal decree, or what they call it, of divorce, in the usual time of such process; and now I thought myself a freeman once again, and began to be sick of wedlock with all my heart.

I lived retired, because I knew she had contracted debts which I should be obliged to pay, and I was resolved to be gone out of her reach, with what speed I could; but it was necessary that I should stay till the Virginia fleet came in, because I looked for at least three hundred hogsheads of tobacco from thence, which I knew would heal all my breaches; for indeed the extravagance of three years with this lady had sunk me most effectually, even far beyond her own fortune, which was considerable, though not quite 1500*l.*, as she had called it.

But all the mischiefs I met with on account of this match were not over yet; for when I had been parted with her about three months, and had refused to accept her bill of 30*l.* which I mentioned above, though I was removed from my first lodgings too, and thought I had effectually secured myself from being found out, yet there came a gentleman well dressed to my lodgings one day, and was let in before I knew of it, or else I should scarce have admitted him.

He was led into a parlour, and I came down to him in my gown and slippers; when I came into the room, he called me as familiarly by my name as if he had known me twenty years, and pulling out a pocket-book, he shows me a bill upon me, drawn by my wife, which was the same bill for 30*l.* that I had refused before.

Sir, says I, this bill has been presented before, and I gave my answer to it then.

Answer, sir! says he, with a kind of jeering, taunting air; I do not understand what you mean by an answer; it is not a question, sir, it is a bill to be paid.

Well, sir, says I, it is a bill, I know that, and I gave my answer to it before.

Sir, sir, says he, very saucily, your answer! there is no answer to a bill, it must be paid; bills are to be paid, not to be answered; they say you are a merchant, sir; merchants always pay their bills.

I began to be angry too a little, but I did not like my man, for I found he begun to be quarrelsome; however, I said, Sir, I perceive you are not much used to presenting bills; sir, a bill is always first presented, and presenting is a question, it is asking if I will accept or pay the bill, and then whether I say yes or no, it is an answer one way or other; after it is accepted, it indeed requires no more answer but payment when it is due; if you please to inform yourself, this is the usage which all merchants or tradesmen of any kind, who have bills drawn upon them, act by.

Well, sir, says he, and what then? What is this to the paying me the 30*l.*?

Why, sir, says I, it is this to it, that I told the person that brought it, I should not pay it.

Not pay it! says he, but you shall pay it; ay, ay, you will pay it.

She that draws it, has no reason to draw any bills upon

me, I am sure, said I; and I shall pay no bills she draws, I assure you.

Upon this, he turns short upon me; Sir, she that draws this bill is a person of too much honour to draw any bill without reason, and it is an affront to say so of her, and I shall expect satisfaction of you for that by itself; but first the bill, sir, the bill, you must pay the bill, sir.

I returned as short; Sir, I affront nobody, I know the person as well as you I hope, and what I have said of her is no affront; she can have no reason to draw bills upon me, for I owe her nothing.

I omit intermingling the oaths he laced his speech with, as too foul for my paper; but he told me he would make me know she had friends to stand by her, that I had abused her, and he would let me know it, and do her justice; but first, I must pay his bill.

I answered in short, I would not pay the bill, nor any bills she should draw.

With that he steps to the door and shuts it, and swore by G—d he would make me pay the bill before we parted; and laid his hand upon his sword, but did not draw it out.

I confess I was frightened to the last degree, for I had no sword, and if I had, I must own, that, though I had learned a great many good things in France to make me look like a gentleman, I had forgot the main article of learning how to use a sword, a thing so universally practised there; and to say more, I had been perfectly unacquainted with quarrels of this nature; so that I was perfectly surprised when he shut the door, and knew not what to say or do.

However, as it happened, the people of the house hearing us pretty loud, came near the door, and made a noise in the entry, to let me know they were at hand; and one of the servants going to open the door, and finding it locked, called out to me, Sir, for God's sake open the door! what is the matter? shall we fetch a constable? I made no answer, but it gave me courage, so I sat down composed in one of the chairs, and said to him; Sir, this is not the way to make me pay the bill; you had much better be easy, and take your satisfaction another way.

He understood me of fighting, which upon my word was not in my thoughts, but I meant that he had better take his course at law.

With all my heart, says he; they say you are a gentleman, and they call you colonel; now, if you are a gentleman, I accept your challenge, sir, and if you will walk out with me, I will take it for full payment of the bill, and will decide it as gentlemen ought to do.

I challenge you, sir! said I; not I, I made no challenge; I said, this is not the way to make me pay a bill that I have not accepted; that is, that you had better seek your satisfaction at law.

Law! says he, law! gentleman's law is my law; in short, sir, you shall pay me or fight me; and then, as if he had mistaken, he turns short upon me, Nay, says he, you shall both fight me and pay me, for I will maintain her honour; and in saying this, he bestowed about six or seven damme's and oaths, by way of parenthesis.

This interval delivered me effectually, for just at the word 'fight me, for I will maintain her honour,' the maid had brought in a constable, with three or four neighbours to assist him.

He heard them come in, and began to be a little in a rage, and asked me if I intended to mob him instead of paying; and laying his hand on his sword, told me, if any man offered to break in upon him, he would run me through the first moment, that he might have the fewer to deal with afterwards.

I told him he knew I had called for no help (believing he could not be in earnest in what he had said), and that if anybody attempted to come in upon us, it was to prevent the mischief he threatened, and which he might see I had no weapons to resist.

Upon this the constable called, and charged us both in the king's name to open the door; I was sitting in a chair, and offered to rise; he made a motion as if he would draw, upon which I sat down again, and the door not being opened, the constable set his foot against it and came in.

Well, sir, says my gentleman, and what now? what is your business here? Nay, sir, says the constable, you see my business, I am a peace-officer, all I have to do is to keep the peace, and I find the people of the house frightened for fear of mischief between you, and they have fetched me to prevent it. What mischief have they supposed you should find? says he. I suppose, says the constable, they were afraid you should fight. That is, because they did not know this fellow

here; he never fights; they call him colonel, says he; I suppose he might be born a colonel, for I dare say he was born a coward; he never fights, he dares not see a man; if he would have fought, he would have walked out with me, but he scorns to be brave; they would never have talked to you of fighting, if they had known him: I tell you, Mr. Constable, he is a coward, and a coward is a rascal; and with that he came to me, and stroked his finger down my nose pretty hard, and laughed and mocked most horridly, as if I was a coward. Now, for aught I knew, it might be true, but I was now what they call a coward made desperate, which is one of the worst of men in the world to encounter with, for being in a fury, I threw my head in his face, and closing with him, threw him fairly on his back by main strength, and had not the constable stepped in and taken me off, I had certainly stamped him to death with my feet, for my blood was now all in a flame, and the people of the house were frightened now as much the other way, lest I should kill him, though I had no weapon at all in my hand.

The constable too reproved me in his turn; but I said to him, Mr. Constable, do not you think I am sufficiently provoked? can any man bear such things as these? I desire to know who this man is, and who sent him hither?

I am, says he, a gentleman, and come with a bill to him for money, and he refuses to pay it. Well, says the constable very prudently, that is none of my business, I am no justice of the peace to hear the cause; be that among yourselves, but keep your hands off one another, and that is as much as I desire; and therefore, sir, says the constable to him, if I may advise you, seeing he will not pay the bill, and that must be decided between you as the law directs, I would have you leave it for the present, and go quietly away.

He made many impertinent harangues about the bill, and insisted that it was drawn by my own wife; I said angrily, then it was drawn by a whore; he bullied me upon that, told me I durst not tell him so anywhere else; so I answered, I would very soon publish her for a whore to all the world, and cry her down; and thus we scolded for near half an hour, for I took courage when the constable was there, for I knew that he would keep us from fighting, which indeed I had no mind to, and so at length I got rid of him.

I was heartily vexed at this rencounter, and the more, be-

cause I had been found out in my lodging, which I thought I had effectually concealed; however, I resolved to remove the next day, and in the meantime I kept within doors all that day till the evening, and then I went out in order not to return thither any more.

Being come out into Gracechurch-street, I observed a man follow me, with one of his legs tied up in a string, and hopping along with the other, and two crutches; he begged for a farthing, but I inclining not to give him anything, the fellow followed me still, till I came to a court, when I answered hastily to him, I have nothing for you! Pray do not be so troublesome! with which words he knocked me down with his crutches.

Being stunned with the blow, I knew nothing what was done to me afterwards; but coming to myself again, I found I was wounded very frightfully in several places, and that among the rest my nose was slit upwards, one of my ears almost cut off, and a great cut with a sword on the side of the forehead, also a stab into the body, though not dangerous.

Who had been near me, or struck me, besides the cripple that struck me with his crutch, I knew not, nor do I know to this hour; but I was terribly wounded, and lay bleeding on the ground some time, till coming to myself I got strength to cry out for help, and people coming about me, I got some hands to carry me to my lodging, where I lay by it more than two months before I was well enough to go out of doors, and when I did go out, I had reason to believe that I was waited for by some rogues, who watched an opportunity to repeat the injury I had met with before.

This made me very uneasy, and I resolved to get myself out of danger if possible, and to go over to France, or home, as I called it, to Virginia, so to be out of the way of villains and assassinations; for every time I stirred out here, I thought I went in danger of my life; and therefore, as before, I went out at night, thinking to be concealed, so now I never went out but in open day, that I might be safe, and never without one or two servants to be my lifeguard.

But I must do my wife a piece of justice here too, and that was, that hearing what had befallen me, she wrote me a letter, in which she treated me more decently than she had been wont to do; she said she was very sorry to hear how I had been used, and the rather, because she understood it was

on presenting her bill to me: she said she hoped I could not, in my worst dispositions, think so hardly of her, as to believe it was done by her knowledge or consent, much less by her order or direction; that she abhorred such things, and protested, if she had the least knowledge, or so much as a guess at the villains concerned, she would discover them to me; she let me know the person's name to whom she gave the bill, and where he lived, and left it to me to oblige him to discover the person who had brought it, and used me so ill, and wished I might find him, and bring him to justice, and have him punished with the utmost severity of the law.

I took this so kindly of my wife, that I think in my conscience, had she come after it herself, to see how I did, I had certainly taken her again; but she satisfied herself with the civility of another letter, and desiring me to let her know as often as I could how I was, adding, that it would be infinitely to her satisfaction to hear I was recovered of the hurt I had received, and that he was hanged at Tyburn who had done it.

She used some expressions, signifying, as I understood them, her affliction at our parting, and her continued respect for me, but did not make any motion towards returning; then she used some arguments to move me to pay her bills; intimating that she had brought me a large fortune, and now had nothing to subsist on, which was very severe.

I wrote her an answer to this letter, though I had not to the other, letting her know how I had been used; that I was satisfied, upon her letter, that she had no hand in it, that it was not in her nature to treat me so, who had never injured her, used any violence with her, or been the cause or desire of our parting: that, as to her bill, she could not but know how much her expensive way of living had straitened and reduced me, and would, if continued, have ruined me; that she had in less than three years, spent more than as much as she brought to me, and would not abate her expensive way, though calmly entreated by me, with protestations that I could not support so great an expense, but chose rather to break up her family and go from me, than to restrain herself to reasonable limits, though I used no violence with her, but entreaties and earnest persuasions, backed with good reason; letting her know how my estate was, and convincing her, that it must reduce us to poverty at least; that, however, if she

would recall her bill, I would send her 30*l.*, which was the sum mentioned in her bill, and, according to my ability, would not let her want, if she pleased to live within due bounds; but then I let her know also, that I had a very bad account of her conduct, and that she kept company with a scandalous fellow, who I named to her; that I was loath to believe such things of her, but that, to put an entire end to the report, and restore her reputation, I let her know that still, after all I had heard, if she would resolve to live without restraints, within the reasonable bounds of my capacity, and treat me with the same kindness, affection, and tenderness, as I always had treated her, and ever would, I was willing to receive her again, and would forget all that was past; but that, if she declined me now, it would be for ever; for if she did not accept my offer, I was resolved to stay here no longer, where I had been so ill treated on many occasions, but was preparing to go into my own country, where I would spend my days in quiet, and in a retreat from the world.

She did not give such an answer to this as I expected; for though she thanked me for the 30*l.*, yet she insisted upon her justification in all other points; and, though she did not refuse to return to me, yet she did not say she accepted it, and, in short, said little or nothing to it, only a kind of claim to a reparation of her injured reputation, and the like.

This gave me some surprise at first, for I thought, indeed, any woman in her circumstances would have been very willing to have put an end to all her miseries, and to the reproach which was upon her, by a reconciliation; especially, considering she subsisted at that time but very meanly. But there was a particular reason which prevented her return, and which she could not plead to in her letter, yet was a good reason against accepting an offer which she would otherwise have been glad of; and this was, that as I have mentioned above, she had fallen into bad company, and had prostituted her virtue to some of her flatterers, and, in short, was with child; so that she durst not venture to accept my offer.

However, as I observed above, she did not absolutely refuse it, intending (as I understood afterward), to keep the treaty of it on foot, till she could drop her burthen, as she called it before; and having been delivered privately, have accepted my proposal afterward; and, indeed, this was the

most prudent step she could take, or, as we may say, the only step she had left to take. But I was too many for her here too, my intelligence about her was too good for her to conceal such an affair from me, unless she had gone away before she was visibly big, and unless she had gone farther off too than she did, for I had an account to a tittle of the time when, and place where, and the creature of which she was delivered, and then my offers of taking her again were at an end, though she wrote me several penitent letters, acknowledging her crime, and begging me to forgive her; but my spirit was above all that now, nor could I ever bear the thoughts of her after that, but pursued a divorce, and accordingly obtained it, as I have mentioned already.

Things being at this pass, I resolved, as I have observed before, to go over to France, after I had received my effects from Virginia; and accordingly I came to Dunkirk in the year 1700, and here I fell into company with some Irish officers of the regiment of Dillon, who by little and little entered me into the army, and, by the help of Lieutenant-general Connor, an Irishman, and some money, I obtained a company in his regiment, and so went into the army directly.

I was exceedingly pleased with my new circumstances, and now I used to say to myself, I was come to what I was born to, and that I had never till now lived the life of a gentleman.

Our regiment, after I had been some time in it, was commanded into Italy, and one of the most considerable actions that I was in, was the famous attack upon Cremona, in the Milanese, where the Germans being privately, and by treachery, let into the town in the night, through a kind of common sewer, surprised the town, and got possession of the greatest part of it, surprising the mareschal duke de Villeroy, and taking him prisoner as he came out of his quarters, and beating the few French troops which were left in the citadel; but were in the middle of their victory so boldly and resolutely attacked by two Irish regiments, who were quartered in the street leading to the river Po, and who kept possession of the water-gate, or Po gate of the town, by which the German reinforcements should have come in, that after a most desperate fight, the Germans had their victory wrung out of their hands, and not being able to break through us to let in their friends, were obliged at length to quit the town again, to the eternal honour of those Irish regiments, and indeed of

their whole nation, and for which we had a very handsome compliment from the king of France.

I now had the satisfaction of knowing, and that for the first time too, that I was not that cowardly low-spirited wretch that I was when the fellow bullied me in my lodgings about the bill of 30*l.*: had he attacked me now, though in the very same condition, I should, naked and unarmed as I was, have flown in the face of him, and trampled him under my feet; but men never know themselves till they are tried, and courage is acquired by time, and experience of things.

Philip de Comines tells us, that after the battle of Monteleri, the Count de Charolois, who till then had an utter aversion to the war, and abhorred it, and everything that belonged to it, was so changed by the glory he obtained in that action, and by the flattery of those about him, that afterwards the army was his mistress, and the fatigues of the war his chief delight; it is too great an example for me to bring in my own case, but so it was, that they flattered me so with my bravery, as they called it, on the occasion of this action, that I fancied myself brave, whether I was so or not, and the pride of it made me bold and daring to the last degree on all occasions; but what added to it was, that somebody gave a particular account to the court of my being instrumental to the saving the city, and the whole Cremonese, by my extraordinary defence of the Po gate, and by my managing that defence after the lieutenant-colonel, who commanded the party where I was posted, was killed; upon which the king sent me a public testimony of his accepting my service, and sent me a brevet to be a lieutenant-colonel, and the next courier brought me actually a commission for lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of ——.

I was in several skirmishes and petty encounters before this, by which I gained the reputation of a good officer, but I happened to be in some particular posts too, by which I got somewhat that I liked much better, and that was a good deal of money.

Our regiment was sent from France to Italy by sea; we embarked at Toulon, and landed at Savona, in the territory of Genoa, and marched from thence to the duchy of Milan. At the first town we were sent to take possession of, which was Alexandria, the citizens rose upon our men in a most furious manner, and drove the whole garrison, which con-

sisted of eight hundred men, that is, French, and soldiers in the French service, quite out of the town.

I was quartered in a burgher's house, just by one of the ports, with eight of my men and a servant, where, calling a short council with my men, we were resolved to maintain the house we were in, whatever it cost, till we received orders to quit it from the commanding officer. Upon this, when I saw our men could not stand their ground in the street, being pressed hard by the citizens, I turned out of doors all the family, and kept the house as a castle, which I was governor in; and as the house joined to the city gate, I resolved to maintain it, so as to be the last that should quit the place, my own retreat being secured by being so near the port.

Having thus emptied the house of the inhabitants, we made no scruple of filling our pockets with whatever we could find there; in a word, we left nothing we could carry away, among which, it came to my lot to dip into the burgher's cabinet, whose house it was where we were, and there I took about the quantity of two hundred pistoles in money and plate, and other things of value. There was great complaint made to Prince Vaudemont, who was then governor of the Milanese, of this violence; but as the repulse the citizens gave us was contrary to his order, and to the general design of the prince, who was then wholly in the interest of king Philip, the citizens could obtain nothing, and I found that if we had plundered the whole city it would have been the same thing; for the governor had orders to take our regiment in, and it was an act of open rebellion to resist us as they did; however, we had orders not to fire upon the burghers, unless constrained to it by evident necessity, and we rather chose to quit the place as we did, than dispute it with a desperate body of fellows, who wanted no advantage of us, except only that of having possession of two bastions, and one port of our retreat; first, they were treble our number, for the burghers being joined by seven companies of the regular troops, made up above sixteen hundred men, besides rabble, which was many more, whereas we were about eight hundred in all; they also had the citadel, and several pieces of cannon, so that we could have made nothing of it, if we had attacked them; but they submitted three or four days after to other forces, the soldiers within turning upon them, and taking the citadel from them.

After this we lay still in quarters eight months; for the

prince having secured the whole Milanese for king Philip, and no enemy appearing for some time, had nothing to do but to receive the auxiliary troops of France, and as they came, extend himself every way as he could, in order to keep the imperialists (who were preparing to fall into Italy with a great army) as much at a distance as possible, which he did, by taking possession of the city of Mantua, and of most of the towns on that side, as far as the lake De la Guarda, and the river Adige.

We lay in Mantua some time, but were afterwards drawn out by order of the Count de Tesse (afterwards marshal of France), to form the French army, till the arrival of the Duke de Vendôme, who was to command in chief. Here we had a severe campaign, anno 1701, having Prince Eugene of Savoy, and an army of forty thousand Germans, all old soldiers, to deal with; and though the French army was more numerous than the enemy by twenty-five thousand men, yet, being on the defensive, and having so many posts to cover, not knowing exactly where the prince of Savoy, who commanded the imperial army, would attack us, it obliged the French to keep their troops so divided, and so remote from one another, that the Germans pushed on their design with great success, as the histories of those times more fully relate.

I was at the action at Carpi, July, 1701, where we were worsted by the Germans indeed, were forced to quit our encampment, and give up to the prinee the whole river Adige, and where our regiment sustained some loss, but the enemies got little by us, and Monsieur Catinat, who commanded at that time, drew up in order of battle the next day in sight of the German army, and gave them a defiance, but they would not stir, though we offered them battle two days together; for, having gained the passage over the Adige by our quitting Rivoli, which was then useless to us, their business was done.

Finding they declined a decisive action, our generals pressed them in their quarters, and made them fight for every inch of ground they gained, and at length, in the September following, we attacked them in their intrenched posts of Chiar. Here we broke into the very heart of their camp, where we made a very terrible slaughter; but I know not by what mistake among our generals, or defect in the execution of their orders, the brigade of Normandy and our

Irish brigade, who had so bravely entered the German intrenchments, were not supported as we should have been, so that we were obliged to sustain the shock of the whole German army, and at last to quit the advantage we had gained, and that not without loss; but, being timely reinforced by a great body of horse, the enemy were in their turn beaten off too, and driven back into their very camp. The Germans boasted of having a great victory here, and indeed, in repulsing us after we had gained their camp, they had the advantage; but had Monsieur de Tesse succoured us in time, as old Catinat said he ought to have done, with twelve thousand foot which he had with him, that day's action had put an end to the war, and Prince Eugene must have been glad to have gone back to Germany in more haste than he came, if, perhaps, we had not cut him short by the way.

But the fate of things went another way, and the Germans continued all that campaign to push forward and advance one post after another, till they beat us quite out of the Milanese.

The latter part of this campaign we made only a party war; the French, according to their volatile temper, being every day abroad, either foraging or surprising the enemy's forager's; plundering, or circumventing the plunders of the other side; but they very often came short home, for the Germans had the better of them on several occasions; and indeed so many lost their lives upon these petty encounters, that I think, including those who died of distempers gotten by hard service and bad quarters, lying in the field even till the middle of December, among rivers and bogs, in a country so full of canals and rivers as that part of Italy is known to be, I say, we lost more men, and so did the enemy also, than would have been lost in a general decisive battle.

The duke of Savoy, to give him his due. pressed earnestly to put it to a day, and come to a battle with Prince Eugene; but the Duke de Villeroy, Monsieur Catinat, and the Count de Tesse, were all against it, and the principal reason was, that they knew the weakness of the troops, who had suffered so much on so many occasions, that they were in no condition to give battle to the Germans; so after, as I say, about three months harrassing one another with parties, we went into winter-quarters.

Before we marched out of the field, our regiment, with a

detachment of dragoons of six hundred, and about two hundred and fifty horse, went out with a design to intercept Prince Commercy, a general of note, under Prince Eugene of Savoy; the detachment was intended to be only horse and dragoons; but because it was the imperialists' good luck to beat many of our parties, and, as was given out, many more than we beat of theirs; and because it was believed that the prince, who was an officer of good note among them, would not go abroad but in very little company, the Irish regiment of foot was ordered to be added, that, if possible, they might meet with their match.

I was commanded about two hours before, to pass about two hundred foot, and fifty dragoons, at a small wood, where our general had intelligence that prince would post some men to secure his passage, which accordingly I did; but Count Tesse not thinking our party strong enough, had marched himself with a thousand horse, and three hundred grenadiers, to support us, and it was very well he did so; for Prince Commercy having intelligence of the first party, came forward sooner than they expected, and fell upon them, and had entirely routed them, had not the count, hearing the firing, advanced with the thousand horse he had, with such expedition, as to support his men in the very heat of the action, by which means the Germans were defeated, and forced to retire; but the prince made a pretty good retreat, and, after the action, came on to the wood where I was posted, but the surprise of his defeat had prevented his sending a detachment to secure the pass at the wood, as he intended.

The Count de Tesse understanding that we were sent, as above, to the wood, followed them close at the heels, to prevent our being cut off, and, if it were possible that we should give them any check at the wood, to fall in, and have another brush with them; it was near night before they came to the wood, by which means they could not discern our number; but when they came up to the wood, fifty dragoons advanced to discover the pass, and see if all was clear; these we suffered to pass a great way into the defile, or lane, that went through the wood, and then clapping in between them and the entrance, cut off their retreat so effectually, that when they discovered us, and fired, they were instantly surrounded, and cut in pieces; the officers who commanded them, and eight dragoons only, being made prisoners.

This made the prince halt, not knowing what the case was, or how strong we were; and, to get better intelligence, sent two hundred horse to surround or skirt the wood, and beat up our quarter, and in the interim, the Count de Tesse appeared in his rear. We found the strait he was in, by the noise of our own troops at a distance, so we resolved to engage the two hundred horse immediately; accordingly, our little troop of horse drew up in the entrance of the lane, and offered to skirmish, and our foot lying behind the hedge, which went round the wood, stood ready to act as occasion should offer; the horse being attacked, gave way, and retired into the lane; but the Germans were too old for us there; they contented themselves to push us to the entrance, but would not be drawn into a narrow pass without knowing whether the hedges were lined or no.

But the prince finding the French in his rear, and not being strong enough to engage again, resolved to force his way through, and commanded his dragoons to alight and enter the wood, to clear the hedges on either side the lane, that he might pass with his cavalry; this they did so vigorously, and were so much too strong for us, that though we made good our ground a long time, yet our men were almost half of them cut in pieces. However, we gave time to the French cavalry to come up, and to fall on the prince's troops, and cut them off, and take a great many prisoners, and then retreated in our turn, opening a gap for our own horse to break in; three hundred of the dragoons were killed, and two hundred of them taken prisoners.

In the first heat of this action, a German officer of dragoons, well followed, had knocked down three men that stood next me; and, offering me quarter, I was obliged to accept it, and gave him my sword, for our men were upon the point of quitting their post, and shifting every one as they could; but the scale was turned, for our cavalry breaking in, as above, the dragoons went to wreck, and the officer who had me prisoner, turning to me said, We are all lost; I asked him if I could serve him? Stand still a little, says he; for his men fought most desperately indeed, but about two hundred French horse appearing in his rear too, he said to me in French, I will be your prisoner; and returning me my sword, gave me also his own; a dragoon that stood near him was just going to do the like, when he was shot dead, and the horse coming up, the

field was cleared in an instant; but Prince Commercy went off with the rest of his party, and was pursued no farther.

There were sixteen or seventeen of our men released as I was, from being taken; but they had not the luck I had, to take the officer that had them in keeping; he had been so generous to me as not to ask what money I had about me, though I had not much if he had; but I lost by his civility, for then I could not have the assurance to ask him for his money, though I understood he had near a hundred pistoles about him; but he very handsomely at night, when we came to our tents, made me a present of twenty pistoles, and in return I obtained leave for him to go to Prince Eugene's camp upon his parole, which he did, and so got himself exchanged.

It was after this campaign that I was quartered at Cremona, when the action happened there, of which I have spoken already, and where our Irish regiment did such service that they saved the town from being really surprised, and indeed beat the Germans out again, after they had been masters of three quarters of the town six hours, and by which they gained a very great reputation.

CHAPTER XIV.

FARTHER OPERATIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN—I AM QUARTERED AT TRENT, AND MARRY MY LANDLORD'S DAUGHTER—I SELL MY COMPANY, AND EMBARK IN THE FRENCH FLEET—PARTICULARS OF THEIR EXPEDITION—I RETURN UNEXPECTEDLY TO PARIS, AND MAKE A DISAGREEABLE DISCOVERY RELATING TO MY WIFE—I CHALLANGE AND WOUND HER GALLANT.

But I hasten on to my own history, for I am not writing a journal of the wars, in which I had no long share.

The summer after this, our two Irish regiments were drawn out into the field, and had many a sore brush with the Germans; for Prince Eugene, a vigilant general, gave us little rest, and gained many advantages by his continual moving up and down, harassing his own men and ours too; and whoever will do the French justice, and knew how they

behaved, must acknowledge they never declined the Germans, but fought them upon all occasions, with the utmost resolution and courage; and though it cost the blood of an infinite number of fine gentlemen, as well as private soldiers, yet the Duke de Vendôme, who now commanded, though king Philip was himself in the army this campaign, made the prince of Savoy a full return in his own kind, and drove him from post to post, till he was just at the point of quitting the whole country of Italy; all that gallant army Prince Eugene brought with him into Italy, which was the best, without doubt, for the goodness of the troops,, that ever were there, laid their bones in that country, and many thousands more after them, till the affairs of France declining in other places, they were forced in their turn to give way to their fate, as may be seen in the histories of those times, as above; but it is none of my business.

The part that I bore in these affairs was but short and sharp: we took the field about the beginning of July, 1702, and the Duke de Vendôme ordered the whole army to draw the sooner together, in order to relieve the city of Mantua, which was blocked up by the imperialists.

Prince Eugene was a politic, and indeed a fortunate prince, and had the year before pushed our army upon many occasions; but his good fortune began to fail him a little this year, for our army was not only more numerous than his, but the duke was in the field before him; and as the prince had held Mantua closely blocked up all the winter, the duke resolved to relieve the town, cost what it would. As I said, the duke was first in the field; the prince was in no condition to prevent his raising the blockade by force; so he drew off his troops, and leaving several strong bodies of troops to protect Bersello, which the Duke de Vendôme threatened, and Borgo Fort, where his magazine lay, he drew all the rest of his forces together, to make head against us. By this time the king of Spain was come into the army, and the Duke de Vendôme lay with about thirty-five thousand men, near Luzara, which he had resolved to attack, to bring Prince Eugene to a battle: the prince of Vaudemont lay intrenched with twenty thousand more at Rivalto, behind Mantua, to cover the frontiers of Milan, and there were near twelve thousand in Mantua itself; and Monsieur Pracontal lay with ten thousand men just under the cannon of one of the forts

which guard the causeway which leads into the city of Mantua: so that had all these joined, as they would have done in a few days more, the prince must have been put to his shifts, and would have had enough to do to have maintained himself in Italy; for he was master of no one place in the country, that could have held out a formal siege of fifteen days, and he knew all this very well; and therefore, it seems, while the duke of Vendôme resolved, if possible, to bring him to a battle, and to that end made dispositions to attack Luzara, we were surprised to find, the 15th of June, 1702, the whole imperial army appeared in battalia, and in full march to attack us.

As it happened, our army was all marching in columns towards them, as we had done for two days before; and I should have told you, that three days before, the duke having notice that General Visconti, with three imperial regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, was posted at San-Victoria, on the Tessona, he resolved to attack them; and this design was carried so secretly, that while Monsieur Visconti, though our army was three leagues another way, was passing towards the Modenese, he found himself unexpectedly attacked by six thousand horse and dragoons of the French army. He defended himself very bravely for near an hour; when being overpowered, and finding he should be forced into disorder, he sounded a retreat; but the squadrons had not faced about to make their retreat scarce a quarter of an hour, when they found themselves surrounded with a great body of infantry, who had entirely cut off their retreat, except over the bridge of Tassona, which being thronged with their baggage, they could neither get backward or forward; so they thrust and tumbled over one another in such a manner, that they could preserve no kind of order; but abundance fell into the river, and were drowned, many were killed, and more taken prisoners; so that in a word, the whole three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, were entirely defeated.

This was a great blow to the prince, because they were some of the choicest troops of his whole army. We took about four hundred prisoners, and all their baggage, which was a very considerable booty, and about eight hundred horses; and no doubt these troops were very much wanted in the battle that ensued on the 15th, as I have said. Our army being in full march, as above, to attack Luzara, a party

of Germans appeared, being about six hundred horse, and in less than an hour more, their whole army, in order of battle.

Our army formed immediately, and the duke posted the regiments as they came up, so much to their advantage, that Prince Eugene was obliged to alter his dispositions, and had this particular inconvenience upon his hands, viz., to attack an army superior to his own, in all their most advantageous posts; whereas, had he thought fit to have waited but one day, we should have met him half way: but this was owing to the pride of the German generals, and their being so opinionated of the goodness of their troops. The royal army was posted with the left to the great river Po, on the other side of which the prince of Vaudemont's army lay cannonading the intrenchments which the imperialists had made at Borgo Fort; and hearing that there was like to be a general battle, he detached twelve battalions and about a thousand horse, to reinforce the royal army; all which, to our great encouragement, had time to join the army; while Prince Eugene was making his new dispositions for the attack; and yet it was the coming of these troops which caused Prince Eugene to resolve to begin the fight, expecting to have come to an action before they could come up; but he was disappointed in the reason of fighting, and yet was obliged to fight too, which was an error in the prince that it was too late to retrieve.

It was five o'clock in the evening before he could bring up his whole line to engage; and then, after having cannonaded us to no great purpose for half an hour, his right, commanded by the Prince de Commercy, attacked our left wing with great fury. Our men received them so well, and seconded one another so punctually, that they were repulsed with a very great slaughter, and the Prince de Commercy being, unhappily for them, killed in the first onset, the regiments, for want of orders, and surprised with the fall of so great a man, were pushed into disorder, and one whole brigade was entirely broke.

But their second line advancing, under General Herbeville, restored things in the first; the battalions rallied, and they came boldly on to charge a second time, and being seconded with new reinforcements from their main body, our men had their turn, and were pushed to a canal, which lay on their left flank, between them and the Po, behind which they rallied,

and being supported by new troops, as well horse as foot, they fought on both sides with the utmost obstinacy, and with such courage and skill, that it was not possible to judge who should have had the better, could they have been able to have fought it out.

On the right of the royal army, was posted the flower of the French cavalry; namely, the gendarmes, the royal carabineers, and the queen's horse-guards, with four hundred horse more, and next them the infantry, among which were our brigade; the horse advanced first to charge, and they carried all before them sword in hand, receiving the fire of two imperial regiments of cuirassiers, without firing a shot, and falling in among them, bore them down by the strength of their horses, putting them into confusion, and left so clear a field for us to follow, that the first line of our infantry stood drawn up upon the ground which the enemy at first possessed.

In this first attack the Marquis de Crequi, who commanded the whole right wing, was killed; a loss which fully balanced the death of the Prince de Commercy, on the side of the Germans. After we had thus pushed the enemy's cavalry, as above, their troops, being rallied by the dexterity of their generals, and supported by three imperial regiments of foot, came on again to the charge with such fury, that nothing could withstand them; and here two battalions of our Irish regiments were put into disorder, and abundance of our men killed; and here also I had the misfortune to receive a musket shot, which broke my left arm; and that was not all, for I was knocked down by a giant-like German soldier, who, when he thought he had killed me, set his foot upon me, but was immediately shot dead by one of my men, and fell just upon me, which, my arm being broken, was a very great mischief to me; for the very weight of the fellow, who was almost as big as a horse, was such, that I was not able to stir.

Our men were beaten back after this, from the place where they stood; and so I was left in possession of the enemy, but was not their prisoner, that is to say, was not found, till next morning, when a party being sent, as usual, with surgeons to look after the wounded men, among the dead, found me almost smothered with the dead Germans, and others that lay near me: however, to do them justice, they used me with humanity, and the surgeons set my arm very skilfully and well;

and four or five days after, I had liberty to go to Parma upon parole.

Both the armies continued fighting, especially on our left, till it was so dark that it was impossible to know who they fired at, or for the generals to see what they did; so they abated firing gradually, and, as it may be truly said, the night parted them.

Both sides claimed the victory, and both concealed their losses as much as it was possible; but it is certain, that never battle was fought with greater bravery and obstinacy than this was; and had there been daylight to have fought it out, doubtless there would have been many thousand more men killed on both sides.

All the Germans had to entitle them to the victory was, that they made our left retire, as I have said, to the canal, and to the high banks, or mounds on the edge of the Po; but they had so much advantage in the retreat—they fired from thence among the thickest of the enemy, and could never be forced from their posts.

The best testimony the royal army had of the victory, and which was certainly the better of the two, was, that, two days after the fight, they attacked Guastalia, as it were in view of the German army, and forced the garrison to surrender, and to swear not to serve again for six months, which, they being fifteen hundred men, was a great loss to the Germans, and yet Prince Eugene did not offer to relieve it; and after that we took several other posts, which the imperialists had possession of, but were obliged to quit them upon the approach of the French army, not being in a condition to fight another battle that year.

My campaign was now at an end, and though I came lame off, I came off much better than abundance of gentlemen; for in that bloody battle we had above four hundred officers killed or wounded, whereof three were general officers.

The campaign held on till December, and the Duke de Vendôme took Borgo Fort, and several other places, from the Germans, who, in short, lost ground every day in Italy; I was a prisoner a great while, and there being no cartel settled, Prince Eugene ordered the French prisoners to be sent into Hungary, which was a cruelty that could not be reasonably exercised on them; however, a great many, by that banishment, found means to make their escape to the

Turks, by whom they were kindly received, and the French ambassador at Constantinople took care of them, and shipped them back again into Italy at the king's charge.

But the Duke de Vendôme now took so many German prisoners, that Prince Eugene was tired of sending his prisoners to Hungary, and was obliged to be at the charge of bringing some of them back again, whom he had sent thither, and come to agree to a general exchange of prisoners.

I was, as I have said, allowed for a time to go to Parma, upon my parole, where I continued for the recovery of my wound and broken arm, forty days, and was then obliged to render myself to the commanding officer at Ferrara, where Prince Eugene coming soon after, I was, with several other prisoners of war, sent away into the Milanese, to be kept for an exchange of prisoners.

It was in the city of Trent that I continued about eight months; the man in whose house I quartered was exceedingly civil to me, and took a great deal of care of me, and I lived very easy. Here I contracted a kind of familiarity, perfectly undesigned by me, with the daughter of the burgher at whose house I had lodged, and I know not by what fatality that was upon me, I was prevailed with afterwards to marry her: this was a piece of honesty on my side, which I must acknowledge I never intended to be guilty of: but the girl was too cunning for me, for she found means to get some wine into my head more than I used to drink, and though I was not so disordered with it, but that I knew very well what I did, yet in an unusual height of good humour, I consented to be married. This impolitic piece of honesty put me to many inconveniences, for I knew not what to do with this clog, which I had loaded myself with; I could neither stay with her, or take her with me, so that I was exceedingly perplexed.

The time came soon after that I was released by the cartel, and so was obliged to go to my regiment, which then was in quarters in the Milanese, and from thence I got leave to go to Paris, upon my promise to raise some recruits in England for the Irish regiments, by the help of my correspondence there. Having thus leave to go to Paris, I took a passport from the enemy's army to go to Trent, and making a long circuit, I went back thither, and very honestly packed up my baggage, wife and all, and brought her away through Tyrol,

into Bavaria, and so through Suabia and the Black Forest, into Alsatia, from thence I came into Lorraine, and so to Paris.

I had now a secret design to quit the war, for I really had had enough of fighting; but it was counted so dishonourable a thing to quit, while the army was in the field, that I could not dispense with it; but an intervening accident made that part easy to me: the war was now renewed between France and England, and Holland, just as it was before; and the French king meditating nothing more than how to give the English a diversion, fitted out a strong squadron of men-of-war and frigates, at Dunkirk, on board of which he embarked a body of troops, of about six thousand five hundred men, besides volunteers; and the new king, as we called him, though more generally he was called the Chevalier de St. George, was shipped along with them, and all for Scotland.

I pretended a great deal of zeal for this service, and that if I might be permitted to sell my company in the Irish regiment I was in, and have the Chevalier's brevet for a colonel, in case of raising troops for him in Great Britain, after his arrival, I would embark volunteer, and serve at my own expense. The latter gave me a great advantage with the chevalier; for now I was esteemed as a man of consideration, and one that must have a considerable interest in my own country; so I obtained leave to sell my company, and having had a good round sum of money remitted me from London, by the way of Holland, I prepared a very handsome equipage, and away I went to Dunkirk to embark.

I was very well received by the chevalier; and, as he had an account that I was an officer in the Irish brigade, and had served in Italy, and consequently was an old soldier, all this added to the character which I had before, and made me have a great deal of honour paid me, though at the same time I had no particular attachment to his person, or to his cause; nor indeed did I much consider the cause of one side or other; if I had, I should hardly have risked, not my life only, but effects too, which were all, as I might say, from that moment, forfeited to the English government, and were too evidently in their power to confiscate at their pleasure.

However, having just received a remittance from London, of 300*l.* sterling, and sold my company in the Irish regiment for very near as much, I was not only insensibly drawn in, but was perfectly volunteer in that dull cause, and away I

went with them at all hazards; it belongs very little to my history to give an account of that fruitless expedition, only to tell you, that, being so closely and effectually chased by the English fleet, which was superior in force to the French, I may say, that, in escaping them, I escaped being hanged.

It was the good fortune of the French, that they overshot the port they aimed at, and intending for the frith of Forth, or, as it is called, the frith of Edinburgh, the first land they made was as far north as a place called Montrose, where it was not their business to land, and so they were obliged to come back to the frith, and were gotten to the entrance of it, and came to an anchor for the tide; but this delay or hinderance gave time to the English, under Sir George Bing, to come to the frith, and they came to an anchor, just as we did, only waiting to go up the frith with the flood.

Had we not overshot the port, as above, all our squadron had been destroyed in two days, and all we could have done, had been to have gotten into the pier or haven at Leith, with the smaller frigates, and have landed the troops and ammunition; but we must have set fire to the men-of-war, for the English squadron was not above twenty-four hours behind us, or thereabout.

Upon this surprise, the French admiral set sail from the north point of the frith, where we lay, and, crowding away to the north, got the start of the English fleet, and made their escape, with the loss of one ship only, which being behind the rest, could not get away. When we were satisfied the English left chasing us, which was not till the third night, when we altered our course, and lost sight of them, we stood over to the coast of Norway, and keeping that shore on board all the way to the mouth of the Baltic, we came to an anchor again, and sent two scouts abroad to learn news, to see if the sea was clear, and being satisfied that the enemy did not chase us, we kept on with an easier sail, and came all back again to Dunkirk, and glad I was to set my foot on shore again; for all the while we were thus flying for our lives, I was under the greatest terror imaginable, and nothing but halters and gibbets run in my head, concluding, that if I had been taken, I should certainly have been hanged.

But the care was now over, I took my leave of the chevalier, and of the army, and made haste to Paris. I

came so unexpectedly to Paris, and to my own lodgings, that it was my misfortune to make a discovery, relating to my wife, which was not at all to my satisfaction; for I found her ladyship had kept some company, that I had reason to believe were not such as an honest woman ought to have conversed with, and as I knew her temper, by what I had found of her myself, I grew very jealous and uneasy about her; I must own it touched me very nearly, for I began to have an extraordinary value for her, and her behaviour was very taking, especially after I had brought her into France; but having a vein of levity, it was impossible to prevent her running into such things, in a town so full of what they call gallantry as Paris.

It vexed me also to think that it should be my fate to be a cuckold both abroad and at home, and sometimes I would be in such a rage about it, that I had no government of myself when I thought of it; whole days, and I may say, sometimes whole nights, I spent musing and considering what I should do to her, and especially what I should do to the villain, whoever he was, that had thus abused and supplanted me. Here indeed I committed murder more than once, or indeed than a hundred times, in my imagination; and, as the devil is certainly an apparent prompter to wickedness, if he is not the first mover of it in our minds, he seized me night and day, with proposals to kill my wife.

This horrid project he carried up so high, by raising fierce thoughts, and fomenting the blood upon my contemplation of the word cuckold, that, in short, I left debating whether I should murder her or no, as a thing out of the question, and determined; and my thoughts were then taken up only with the management how I should kill her, and how to make my escape after I had done it.

All this while I had no sufficient evidence of her guilt, neither had I so much as charged her with it, or let her know I suspected her, otherwise than as she might perceive it in my conduct, and in the change of my behaviour to her, which was such, that she could not but perceive that something troubled me, yet she took no notice of it to me, but received me very well, and showed herself to be glad of my return; nor did I find she had been extravagant in her expenses while I was abroad; but jealousy, as the wise man says, is the wrath of a man; her being so good a hussy of

what money I had left her, gave my distempered fancy an opinion that she had been maintained by other people, and so had had no occasion to spend.

I must confess she had a difficult point here upon her, though she had been really honest; for, as my head was prepossessed of her dishonesty, if she had been lavish, I should have said she had spent it upon her gentlemen; and as she had been frugal, I said she had been maintained by them: thus, I say, my head was distempered; I believed myself abused, and nothing could put it out of my thoughts night or day.

All this while it was not visibly broken out between us; but I was so fully possessed with the belief of it, that I seemed to want no evidence, and I looked with an evil eye upon everybody that came near her, or that she conversed with. There was an officer of the Guards du Corps, that lodged in the same house with us, a very honest gentleman, and a man of quality; I happened to be in a little drawing-room, adjoining to a parlour where my wife sat at that time, and this gentleman came into the parlour, which, as he was one of the family, he might have done without offence, but he not knowing that I was in the drawing-room, sat down and talked with my wife. I heard every word they said, for the door between us was open, nor could I say that there passed anything between them but cursory discourse; they talked of casual things, of a young lady, a burgher's daughter of nineteen, that had been married the week before to an advocate in the parliament of Paris, vastly rich, and about thirty-six; and of another, a widow lady of fortune in Paris, that had married her deceased husband's valet de chambre, and of such casual matters, that I could find no fault with her now at all.

But it filled my head with jealous thoughts, and fired my temper; now I fancied he used too much freedom with her, then that she used too much freedom to him, and once or twice I was upon the point of breaking in upon them, and affronting them both, but I restrained myself; at length he talked something merrily of the lady throwing away her maidenhead, as I understood it, upon an old man; but still it was nothing indecent; but I, who was all on fire already, could bear it no longer, but started up, and came into the room, and catching at my wife's words, Say you so, madam,

said I, was he too old for her? And giving the officer a look that I fancy was something akin to the face on the sign, called the Bull and Mouth, within Aldersgate, I went out into the street.

The marquis, so he was styled, a man of honour, and of spirit too, took it as I meant it, and followed me in a moment, and hemm'd after me in the street; upon which I stopped, and he came up to me; Sir, said he, our circumstances are very unhappy in France, that we cannot do ourselves justice here, without the most severe treatment in the world; but, come on it what will, you must explain yourself to me on the subject of your behaviour just now.

I was a little cooled, as to the point of my conduct to him in the very few moments that had passed, and was very sensible that I was wrong to him, and I said, therefore, to him very frankly, Sir, you are a gentleman, whom I know very well, and I have a very great respect for you; but I had been disturbed a little about the conduct of my wife, and, were it your own case, what would you have done less?

I am sorry for any dislike between you and your wife, says he, but what is that to me? Can you charge me with any indecency to her, except my talking so and so (at which he repeated the words), and, as I knew you were in the next room, and heard every word, and that all the doors were open, I thought no man could have taken amiss so innocent an expression.

I could no otherwise take it amiss, said I, than as I thought it implied a farther familiarity, and that you cannot expect should be borne by any man of honour; however, sir, said I, I spoke only to my wife; I said nothing to you, but gave you my hat as I passed you.

Yes, said he, and a look as full of rage as the devil; are there no words in such looks?

I can say nothing to that, said I, for I cannot see my own countenance; but my rage, as you call it, was at my wife, not at you.

But hark you, sir, said he, growing warm as I grew calm, your anger at your wife was for her discourse with me, and I think that concerns me too, and I ought to resent it.

I think not, sir, said I, nor had I found you in bed with my wife, would I have quarrelled with you; for, if my wife will let you lie with her, it is she is the offender, what have I to

do with you? You could not lie with her, if she was not willing, and if she is willing to be a whore, I ought to punish her; but I should have no quarrel with you; I will lie with your wife, if I can, and then I am even with you.

I spoke this all in good humour, and in order to pacify him, but it would not do; but he would have me give him satisfaction, as he called it. I told him I was a stranger in the country, and perhaps should find little mercy in their course of justice; that it was not my business to fight any man in his vindicating his keeping company with my wife, for that the injury was mine, in having a bad woman to deal with; that there was no reason in the thing, that after any man should have found the way into my bed, I, who am injured, should go and stake my life upon an equal hazard against the man who has abused me.

Nothing would prevail with this person to be quiet for all this; but I had affronted him, and no satisfaction could be made him, but that at the point of the sword; so we agreed to go away together to Lisle in Flanders. I was now soldier enough not to be afraid to look a man in the face, and as the rage at my wife inspired me with courage, so he let fall a word, that fired and provoked me beyond all patience; for speaking of the distrust I had of my wife, he said, unless I had good information, I ought not to suspect my wife. I told him, if I had good informatiou, I should be past suspicion; he replied, if he was the happy man that had so much of her favour, he would take care then to put me past the suspicion; I gave him as rough an answer as he could desire, and he returned in French, *Nous verrons aux Lisle*, that is to say, We will talk farther of it at Lisle.

I told him I did not see the benefit either to him or me of going so far as Lisle to decide this quarrel, since now I perceived he was the man I wanted, that we might decide this quarrel, *aux champ*, upon the spot, and whoever had the fortune to fell the other, might make his escape to Lisle as well afterwards as before.

Thus we walked on talking very ill-naturedly on both sides, and yet very mannerly, till we came clear of the suburbs of Paris, on the way to Charenton; when, seeing the way clear, I told him, under those trees was a very fit place for us, pointing to a row of trees adjoining to Monsieur ——'s garden-wall; so we went thither, and fell to work

immediately; after some fencing, he made a home thrust at me, and run me into my arm, a long slanting wound, but at the same time received my point into his body, and soon after fell; he spoke some words before he dropped; first, he told me I had killed him; then he said he had indeed wronged me, and, as he knew it, he ought not to have fought me; he desired I would make my escape immediately, which I did into the city, but no farther, nobody, as I thought, having seen us together. In the afternoon, about six hours after the action, messengers brought news, one on the heels of another, that the marquis was mortally wounded, and carried into a house at Charenton; that account, saying he was not dead, surprised me a little, not doubting but that, concluding I had made my escape, he would own who it was; however, I discovered nothing of my concern, but, going up into my chamber, I took out of a cabinet there what money I had, which indeed was so much as I thought would be sufficient for my expenses; but having an accepted bill for two thousand livres, I walked sedately to a merchant who knew me, and got fifty pistoles of him upon my bill, letting him know my business called me to England, and I would take the rest of him when he had received it.

CHAPTER XV.

DISTRESS OF MY WIFE—I CAST HER OFF, AND TAKE HORSE FOR LORRAINE—I ARRIVE SAFELY IN LONDON—NEWS OF MY WIFE, TO WHOM I SEND A SMALL SUM OF MONEY—HER GALLANT RECOVERS, AND CLEARS MY HANDS OF HER—I MEET WITH A YOUNG WIDOW IN A STAGE COACH, WITH WHOM I FALL IN FANCY, AND MARRY WITH EVERY PROSPECT OF HAPPINESS—SHE TAKES TO DRINKING AND DIES.

Having furnished myself thus, I provided me a horse for my servant, for I had a very good one of my own, and once more ventured home to my lodging, where I heard again that the marquis was not dead. My wife, all this while, covered her concern for the marquis so well, that she gave

me no room to make any remark upon her; but she saw evidently the marks of rage and deep resentment in my behaviour after some little stay, and perceiving me making preparations for a journey, she said to me, Are you going out of town? Yes, madam, says I, that you may have room to mourn for your friend the marquis; at which she started, and showed she was indeed in a most terrible fright, and making a thousand crosses about herself, with a great many callings upon the Blessed Virgin, and her country saints, she burst out at last, Is it possible! Are you the man that killed the marquis? Then you are undone, and I too.

You may, madam, be a loser by the marquis being killed, but I'll take care to be as little a loser by you as I can; it is enough, the marquis has honestly confessed your guilt, and I have done with you; she would have thrown herself into my arms, protesting her innocence, and told me she would fly with me, and would convince me of her fidelity, by such testimonies as I could not but be satisfied with, but I thrust her violently from me; *Allez infame!* said I, go, infamous creature, and take from me the necessity I should be under, if I stayed, of sending you to keep company with your dear friend the marquis. I thrust her away with such force, that she fell backward upon the floor, and cried out most terribly, and indeed she had reason, for she was very much hurt.

It grieved me indeed to have thrust her away with such force, but you must consider me now in the circumstances of a man enraged, and, as it were, out of himself, furious and mad. However, I took her up from the floor, and laid her on the bed, and calling up her maid, bid her go and take care of her mistress; and, going soon after out of doors, I took horse, and made the best of my way, not towards Calais or Dunkirk, or towards Flanders, whither it might be suggested I was fled, and whither they did pursue me the same evening, but I took the direct road for Lorrain, and, riding all night, and very hard, I passed the Maine the next day at night, at Chalons, and came safe into the Duke of Lorrain's dominions the third day, where I rested one day only, to consider what course to take, for it was still a most difficult thing to pass any way, but that I should either be in the king of France's dominions, or be taken by the French allies as a subject of France; but getting good advice from a priest at Bar le Duc, who, though I did not tell him the

particulars of my case, yet guessed how it was, it being, as he said, very usual for gentlemen in my circumstances to fly that way. Upon this supposition, this kind *padre* got me a church pass, that is to say, he made me a purveyor for the abbey of ——, and, as such, got me a passport to go to Deux Ponts, which belonged to the King of Sweden. Having such authority there, and the priest's recommendation to an ecclesiastic in the place, I got passports from thence in the King of Sweden's name to Cologne, and then I was thoroughly safe; so, making my way to the Netherlands, without any difficulty, I came to the Hague, and from thence, though very privately, and by several names, I came to England; and thus I got clear of my Italian wife, whore I should have called her; for, after I had made her so myself, how should I expect any other of her.

Being arrived at London, I wrote to my friend at Paris, but dated my letters from the Hague, where I ordered him to direct his answers. The chief business of my writing was, to know if my bill was paid him, to inquire if any pursuit was made after me, and what other news he had about me, or my wife, and particularly how it had fared with the marquis.

I received an answer in a few days, importing that he had received the money on my bill, which he was ready to pay as I should direct; that the marquis was not dead, but said he, you have killed him another way, for he has lost his commission in the guards, which was worth to him twenty thousand livres, and he is yet a close prisoner in the Bastile; that pursuit was ordered after me upon suspicion; that they had followed me to Amiens, on the road to Dunkirk, and to Chastean de Cambresis, on the way to Flanders; but missing me that way, had given it over; that the marquis had been too well instructed to own that he had fought with me, but said, that he was assaulted on the road, and unless I could be taken, he would take his trial and come off for want of proof; that my flying was a circumstance indeed that moved strongly against him, because it was known that we had had some words that day, and were seen to walk together; but that nothing being proved on either side, he would come off with the loss of his commission, which, however, being very rich, he could bear well enough.

As to my wife, he wrote me word she was inconsolable,

and had cried herself to death almost; but he added, very ill-natured indeed, and whether it was for me, or for the marquis, that he could not determine. He likewise told me, she was in very bad circumstances, and very low, so that if I did not take some care of her, she would come to be in very great distress.

The latter part of this story moved me indeed, for I thought, however it was, I ought not to let her starve; and besides, poverty was a temptation which a woman could not easily withstand, and I ought not to be the instrument to drive her to a horrid necessity of crime, if I could prevent it.

Upon this, I wrote to him again, to go to her, and talk with her, and learn as much as he could of her particular circumstances; and that, if he found she was really in want, and, particularly, that she did not live a scandalous life, he should give her twenty pistoles, and tell her, if she would engage to live retired and honestly she should have so much annually, which was enough to subsist her.

She took the first twenty pistoles, but bade him tell me, that I had wronged her, and unjustly charged her, and I ought to do her justice; and I had ruined her by exposing her, in such a manner as I had, having no proof of my charge, or ground for any suspicion; that, as to twenty pistoles a-year, it was a mean allowance to a wife that had travelled over the world, as she had done with me, and the like; and so expostulated with him to obtain forty pistoles a-year of me, which I consented to; but she never gave me the trouble of paying above one year; for after that the marquis was so fond of her again, that he took her away to himself; and, as my friend wrote me word, had settled four hundred crowns a year on her, and I never heard any more of her.

I was now in London, but was obliged to be very retired, and change my name, letting nobody in the nation know who I was, except my merchant, by whom I corresponded with my people in Virginia; and particularly, that my tutor, who was now become the head manager of my affairs, and was in very good circumstances himself also by my means; but he deserved all I did, or could do for him, for he was a most faithful friend, as well as servant, as ever man had, in that country at least.

I was not the easiest man alive, in the retired solitary

manner I now lived in; and I experienced the truth of the text, that it is not good for man to be alone, for I was extremely melancholy and heavy, and indeed knew not what to do with myself, particularly, because I was under some restraint, that I was, too, afraid to go abroad; at last I resolved to go quite away, and go to Virginia again, and there live retired as I could.

But when I came to consider that part more narrowly, I could not prevail with myself to live a private life. I had got a wandering kind of taste, and knowledge of things begat a desire of increasing it, and an exceeding delight I had in it, though I had nothing to do in the armies or in war, and did not design ever to meddle with it again; yet I could not live in the world, and not inquire what was doing in it; nor could I think of living in Virginia, where I was to hear my news twice a year, and read the public accounts of what was just then upon the stocks, as the history of things past.

This was my notion; I was now in my native country, where my circumstances were easy, and, though I had ill-luck abroad, for I brought little money home with me, yet, by a little good management, I might soon have money by me. I had nobody to keep but myself, and my plantations in Virginia generally returned me from 400*l.* to 600*l.* a year, one year above 700*l.*, and to go thither, I concluded, was to be buried alive; so I put off all thoughts of it, and resolved to settle somewhere in England, where I might know everybody, and nobody know me. I was not long in concluding where to pitch, for as I spoke the French tongue perfectly well, having been so many years among them, it was easy for me to pass for a Frenchman; so I went to Canterbury, called myself an Englishman among the French, and a Frenchman among the English; and on that score was the more perfectly concealed, going by the name of Monsieur Charnot with the French, and Mr. Charnock among the English.

Here indeed I lived perfectly incog.; I made no particular acquaintance so as to be intimate, and yet I knew everybody, and everybody knew me. I discoursed in common, talked French with the Walloons, and English with the English; and lived retired and sober, and was well enough received by all sorts; but, as I meddled with nobody's business, so nobody meddled with mine; I thought I lived pretty well.

But I was not fully satisfied; a settled family life was the

thing I loved; had made two pushes at it, as you have heard, but with ill-success; yet the miscarriage of what was passed did not discourage me at all, but I resolved to marry; I looked out for a woman as suitable as I could, but always found something or other to shock my fancy, except once a gentleman's daughter of good fashion; but I met with so many repulses of one kind or another, that I was forced to give it over, and indeed, though I might be said to be a lover in this suit, and had managed myself so well with the young lady, that I had no difficulty left, but what would soon have been adjusted; yet her father was so difficult, made so many objections, was to-day not pleased one way, to-morrow another, that he would stand by nothing that he himself had proposed, nor could he be ever brought to be of the same mind two days together; so that we at last put an end to the pretensions, for she would not marry without her father's consent, and I would not steal her, and so that affair ended.

I cannot say but I was a little vexed at the dissappointment of this, so I left the city of Canterbury, and went to London in the stage coach; here I had an odd scene presented as ever happened of its kind.

There was in the stage coach a young woman and her maid; she was sitting in a very melancholy posture, for she was in the coach before me, and sighed most dreadfully all the way, and whenever her maid spoke to her, she burst out into tears; I was not long in the coach with her, but, seeing she made such a dismal figure, I offered to comfort her a little, and inquired into the occasion of her affliction, but she would not speak a word; but her maid, with a force of crying too, said her master was dead, at which word the lady burst out again into a passion of crying, and between mistress and maid, this was all I could get for the morning part of that day. When we came to dine, I offered the lady, that seeing, I supposed, she would not dine with the company, if she would please to dine with me, I would dine in a separate room, for the rest of the company were foreigners. Her maid thanked me in her mistress's name, but her mistress could eat nothing, and desired to be private.

Here, however, I had some discourse with the maid, from whom I learned that the lady was wife to a captain of a ship, who was outward bound to somewhere in the Straits, I think it was to Zant and Venice; that, being gone no farther

than the Downs, he was taken sick, and, after about ten days' illness had died at Deal; that his wife, hearing of his sickness, had gone to Deal to see him, and had come but just time enough to see him die; had stayed there to bury him, and was now coming to London in a sad disconsolate condition indeed.

I heartily pitied the young gentlewoman indeed, and said some things to her in the coach, to let her know I did so, which she gave no answer to, but in civility, now and then made a bow, but never gave me the least opportunity to see her face, or so much as to know whether she had a face or no, much less to guess what form of a face it was. It was winter time, and the coach put up at Rochester, not going through in a day, as was usual in summer; and a little before we came to Rochester, I told the lady I understood she had eat nothing to-day, that such a course would but make her sick, and, doing her harm, could do her deceased husband no good; and therefore I entreated her, that, as I was a stranger, and only offered a civility to her, in order to abate her severely afflicting herself, she would yield so far to matters of ceremony, as let us sup together as passengers; for as to the strangers, they did not seem to understand the custom, or to desire it.

She bowed, but gave no answer, only after pressing her by arguments, which she could not deny was very civil and kind, she returned, she gave me thanks, but she not eat. Well, madam, said I, do but sit down, though you think you cannot eat, perhaps you may eat a bit; indeed you must eat, or you will destroy yourself at this rate of living, and upon the road too: in a word you will be sick indeed. I argued with her; the maid put in a word, and said, Do madam, pray try to divert yourself a little. I pressed her again, and she bowed to me very respectfully, but still said, No, and she could not eat; the maid continued to importune her, and said, Dear madam, do, the gentleman is a civil gentleman, pray madam do; and then, turning to me, said, My mistress will, sir, I hope, and seemed pleased, and indeed was so.

However, I went on to persuade her; and, taking no notice of what her maid said, that I was a civil gentleman, I told her, I am a stranger to you madam, but if I thought

you were shy of me on any account, as to civility, I will send my supper up to you in your own chamber, and stay below myself; she bowed then to me twice, and looked up, which was the first time, and said, she had no suspicion of that kind; that my offer was so civil, that she was as much ashamed to refuse it as she should be ashamed to accept it, if she was where she was known; that she thought I was not quite a stranger to her, for she had seen me before; that she would accept my offer, so far as to sit at table, because I desired it, but she could not promise me to eat, and that she hoped I would take the other as a constraint upon her, in return to so much kindness.

She startled me, when she said she had seen me before, for I had not the least knowledge of her, nor did I remember so much as to have heard of her name, for I had asked her name of her maid; and indeed it made me almost repent my compliment; for it was many ways essential to me not to be known. However, I could not go back, and besides, if I was known, it was essentially necessary to me to know who it was that knew me, and by what circumstances; so I went on with my compliment.

We came to the inn but just before it was dark. I offered to hand my widow out of the coach, and she could not decline it, but though her hoods were not then much over her face, yet, being dark, I could see little of her then. I waited on her then to the stairfoot, and led her up the inn stairs to a dining-room, which the master of the house offered to show us, as if for the whole company; but she declined going in there, and said she desired rather to go directly to her chamber, and, turning to her maid, bade her speak to the innkeeper to show her to her lodging-room; so I waited on her to the door, and took my leave, telling her I would expect her at supper.

In order to treat her moderately well, and not extravagantly, for I had no thoughts of anything farther than civility, which was the effect of mere compassion for the unhappiness of the most truly disconsolate woman that I ever met with; I say, in order to treat her handsomely, but not extravagantly, I provided what the house afforded, which was a couple of partridges, and a very good dish of stewed oysters; they brought us up afterwards, a neat's tongue, and a ham, that

was almost cut quite down, but we eat none of it, for the other was fully enough for us both, and the maid made her supper of the oysters we had left, which were enough.

I mention this, because it should appear I did not treat her as a person I was making any court to, for I had nothing of that in my thoughts; but merely in pity to the poor woman, who I saw in a circumstance that was indeed very unhappy.

When I gave her maid notice that supper was ready, she fetched her mistress, coming in before her with a candle in her hand, and then it was that I saw her face, and being in her dishabille, she had no hood over her eyes, or black upon her head, when I was truly surprised to see one of the most beautiful faces upon earth. I saluted her, and led her to the fire-side, the table, though spread, being too far from the fire, the weather being cold.

She was now something sociable, though very grave, and sighed often, on account of her circumstances; but she so handsomely governed her grief, yet so artfully made it mingle itself with all her discourse, that it added exceedingly to her behaviour, which was every way most exquisitely genteel. I had a great deal of discourse with her, and upon many subjects, and by degrees took her name, that is to say from herself, as I had done before from her maid; also the place where she lived, viz., near Ratcliff, or rather Stepney, where I asked her leave to pay her a visit, when she thought fit to admit company, which she seemed to intimate would not be a great while.

It is a subject too surfeiting to entertain people with the beauty of a person they will never see; let it suffice to tell them she was the most beautiful creature of her sex that I ever saw before or since; and it cannot be wondered if I was charmed with her, the very first moment I saw her face; her behaviour was likewise a beauty in itself, and was so extraordinary, that I cannot say I can describe it.

The next day she was much more free than she was the first night, and I had so much conversation, as to enter into particulars of things on both sides; also she gave me leave to come and see her house, which, however, I did not do under a fortnight, or thereabouts, because I did not know how far she would dispense with the ceremony which it was necessary to keep up at the beginning of the mourning.

However I came as a man that had business with her,

relating to the ship her husband was dead out of, and the first time I came was admitted, and, in short, the first time I came I made love to her; she received that proposal with disdain; I cannot indeed say she treated me with any disrespect, but she said she abhorred the offer, and would hear no more of it.

How I came to make such a proposal to her, I scarce knew then, though it was very much my intention from the first.

In the mean time I inquired into her circumstances and her character, and heard nothing but what was very agreeable of them both; and, above all, I found she had the report of the best-humoured lady, and the best-bred of all that part of the town; and now I thought I had found what I had so often wished for to make me happy, and had twice miscarried in, and resolved not to miss her, if it was possible to obtain her.

It came indeed a little into my thoughts, that I was a married man, and had a second wife alive, who, though she was false to me, and a whore, yet I was not legally divorced from her, and that she was my wife for all that; but I soon got over that part; for, first, as she was a whore, and the marquis had confessed it to me, I was divorced in law, and I had a power to put her away; but having had the misfortune of fighting a duel, and being obliged to quit the country, I could not claim the legal process which was my right, and therefore might conclude myself as much divorced as if it had been actually done, and so that scruple vanished.

I suffered now two months to run without pressing my widow any more, only I had kept a strict watch to find if any one else pretended to her; at the end of two months I visited her again, when I found she received me with more freedom. and we had no more sighs and sobs about the last husband; and though she would not let me press my former proposal, so far as I thought I might have done, yet I found I had leave to come again, and it was the article of decency which she stood upon as much as anything; that I was not disagreeable to her, and that my using her so handsomely upon the road had given me a great advantage in her favour.

I went on gradually with her, and gave her leave to stand off for two months more; but then I told her the matter of decency, which was but a ceremony, was not to stand in competition with the matter of affection; and, in short, I could not bear any longer delay, but that, if she thought fit, we

might marry privately; and, to cut the story short, as I did my courtship, in about five months I got her in the mind, and we were privately married, and that with so very exact a concealment that her maid that was so instrumental in it, yet had no knowledge of it for near a month more.

I was now, not only in my imagination, but in reality, the most happy creature in the world, as I was infinitely satisfied with my wife, who was indeed the best-humoured woman in the world, a most accomplished beautiful creature indeed, perfectly well-bred, and had not one ill quality about her; and this happiness continued without the least interruption for about six years.

But I, that was to be the most unhappy fellow alive in the article of matrimony, had at last a disappointment of the worst sort, even here. I had three fine children by her, and in her time of lying-in with the last, she got some cold, that she did not in a long time get off, and in short, she grew very sickly. In being so continually ill, and out of order, she very unhappily got a habit of drinking cordials and hot liquors. Drink, like the devil, when it gets hold of any one, though but a little, it goes on by little and little to their destruction; so in my wife, her stomach being weak and faint, she first took this cordial, then that, till, in short, she could not live without them, and from a drop to a sup, from a sup to a dram, from a dram to a glass, and so on to two, till at last she took, in short, to what we call drinking.

As I likened drink to the devil, in its gradual possession of the habits and person, so it is yet more like the devil in its encroachment on us, where it gets hold of our senses; in short my beautiful, good-humoured, modest, well-bred wife, grew a beast, a slave to strong liquor, and would be drunk at her own table, nay, in her own closet by herself, till, instead of a well-made, fine shape, she was as fat as a hostess; her fine face, bloated and blotched, had not so much as the ruins of the most beautiful person alive, nothing remained but a good eye; that indeed she held to the last. In short, she lost her beauty, her shape, her manners, and at last her virtue; and, giving herself up to drinking, killed herself in about a year and a half after she first began that cursed trade, in which time she twice was exposed in the most scandalous manner with a captain of a ship, who, like a villain, took the advantage of her being in drink, and not knowing what she did;

but it had this unhappy effect, that, instead of her being ashamed, and repenting of it when she came to herself, it hardened her in the crime, and she grew as void of modesty at last as of sobriety.

O! the power of intemperance! and how it encroaches on the best dispositions in the world; how it comes upon us gradually and insensibly, and what dismal effects it works upon our morals, changing the most virtuous, regular, well-instructed, and well-inclined tempers into worse than brutal! That was a good story, whether real or invented, of the devil tempting a young man to murder his father: No, he said, that was unnatural. Why then, says the devil, go and lie with your mother. No, says he, that is abominable. Well then, says the devil, if you will do nothing else to oblige me, go and get drunk. Ay, ay, says the fellow, I will do that; so he went and made himself drunk as a swine, and when he was drunk, he murdered his father and lay with his mother.

Never was a woman more virtuous, modest, chaste, sober; she never so much as desired to drink anything strong; it was with the greatest entreaty that I could prevail with her to drink a glass or two of wine, and rarely, if ever, above one or two at a time; even in company she had no inclination to it. Not an immodest word ever came out of her mouth, nor would she suffer it in any one else in her hearing, without resentment and abhorrence: but upon that weakness and illness, after her last lying-in as above, the nurse pressed her, whenever she found herself faint, and a sinking of her spirits, to take this cordial, and that dram, to keep up her spirits, till it became necessary even to keep her alive, and gradually increased to a habit, so that it was no longer her physic but her food. Her appetite sunk and went quite away, and she eat little or nothing, but came at last to such a dreadful height, that, as I have said, she would be drunk in her own dressing-room by eleven o'clock in the morning, and, in short, at last was never sober.

In this life of hellish excess, as I have said, she lost all that was before so valuable in her, and a villain if it be proper to call a man by such a name, who was an intimate acquaintance, coming to pretend to visit her, made her and her maid so drunk together, that he abused both. Let any one judge what was my case now; I that for six years thought myself

the happiest man alive, was now the most miserable distracted creature. As to my wife, I loved her so well, and was so sensible of the disaster of her drinking being the occasion of it all, that I could not resent it to such a degree as I had done in her predecessor, but I pitied her heartily; however, I put away all her servants, and almost locked her up, that is to say, I set new people over her, who would not suffer any one to come near her without my knowledge.

CHAPTER XVI.

I MEET AND FIGHT HER CAPTAIN, AND THRASH HIM HEARTILY—MY WIFE'S DEATH—ENTERTAIN THOUGHTS OF A FOURTH WIFE—COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE WITH MY FACTOR'S DAUGHTER—SHE MAKES ME AN EXCELLENT WIFE, BUT DIES AT THE END OF FOUR YEARS—I RETURN TO VIRGINIA, AND MEET WITH A WONDERFUL SURPRISE.

But what to do with the villain that had thus abused both her and me, that was the question that remained; to fight him upon equal terms, I thought was a little hard; that after a man had treated me as he had done, he deserved no fair play for his life; so I resolved to wait for him in Stepney fields, and which way he often came home pretty late, and pistol him in the dark, and, if possible, to let him know what I killed him for, before I did it; but when I came to consider of this, it shocked my temper too as well as principle, and I could not be a murderer, whatever else I could be, or whatever I was provoked to be.

However, I resolved on the other hand, that I would severely correct him for what he had done, and it was not long before I had an opportunity; for, hearing one morning that he was walking across the fields from Stepney to Shadwell, which way I knew he often went, I waited for his coming home again, and fairly met him.

I had not many words with him, but told him I had long looked for him; that he knew the villany he had been guilty of in my family, and he could not believe, since he knew also that I was fully informed of it, but that I must be a great coward, as well as a cuckold, or that I would resent it, and

that it was now a very proper time to call him to an account for it; and therefore bade him, if he durst show his face to what he had done, and defend the name of a captain of a man-of-war, as they said he had been, to draw.

He seemed surprised at the thing, and began to parley, and would lessen the crime of it, but I told him it was not a time to talk that way, since he could not deny the fact; and to lessen the crime, was to lay it the more upon the woman, who, I was sure, if he had not first debauched with wine, he could never have brought to the rest; and, seeing he refused to draw, I knocked him down with my cane at one blow, and I would not strike him again while he lay on the ground, but waited to see him recover a little, for I saw plainly he was not killed. In a few minutes he came to himself again, and then I took him fast by one wrist, and caned him as severely as I was able, and as long as I could hold it for want of breath, but forebore his head, because I was resolved he should feel it; in this condition at last he begged for mercy, but I was deaf to all pity a great while, till he roared out like a boy soundly whipped. Then I took his sword from him, and broke it before his face, and left him on the ground, giving him two or three kicks on the backside, and bade him go and take the law of me, if he thought fit.

I had now as much satisfaction as indeed could be taken of a coward, and had no more to say to him; but as I knew it would make a great noise about the town, I immediately removed my family, and that I might be perfectly concealed, went into the north of England, and lived in a little town called ———, not far from Lancaster, where I lived retired, and was no more heard of for about two years. My wife, though more confined than she used to be, and so kept up from the lewd part which, I believe, in the intervals of her intemperance, she was truly ashamed of and abhorred, yet retained the drinking part, which becoming, as I have said, necessary for her subsistence, she soon ruined her health, and in about a year and a half after my removal into the north, she died.

Thus I was once more a free man, and as one would think, should by this time have been fully satisfied that matrimony was not appointed to be a state of felicity to me.

I should have mentioned that the villain of a captain who I had drubbed, as above, pretended to make a great stir about my assaulting him on the highway, and that I had

fallen upon him with three ruffians, with an intent to murder him; and this began to obtain belief among the people in the neighbourhood; I sent him word of so much of it as I had heard, and told him I hoped it did not come from his own mouth, but if it did, I expected he would publicly disown it, he himself declaring he knew it to be false, or else I should be forced to act the same thing over again, till I had disciplined him into better manners; and that he might be assured, that if he continued to pretend that I had anybody with me when I caned him, I would publish the whole story in print, and besides that, would cane him again wherever I met him, and as often as I met him, till he thought fit to defend himself with his sword like a gentleman.

He gave me no answer to this letter; and the satisfaction I had for that was, that I gave twenty or thirty copies of it about among the neighbours, which made it as public as if I had printed it (that is, as to his acquaintance and mine), and made him so hissed at and hated, that he was obliged to remove into some other part of the town, whither I did not inquire.

My wife being now dead, I knew not what course to take in the world, and I grew so disconsolate and discouraged, that I was next door to being distempered, and sometimes, indeed, I thought myself a little touched in my head. But it proved nothing but vapours, and the vexation of this affair, and in about a year's time, or thereabouts, it wore off again.

I had rambled up and down in a most discontented unsettled posture after this, I say, about a year, and then I considered I had three innocent children, and I could take no care of them, and that I must either go away, and leave them to the wide world, or settle here and get somebody to look after them, and that better a mother-in-law than no mother, for to live such a wandering life it would not do; so I resolved I would marry as anything offered, though it was mean, and the meaner the better. I concluded my next wife should be only taken as an upper servant, that is to say, a nurse to my children, and housekeeper to myself, and let her be whore or honest woman, said I, as she likes best, I am resolved I will not much concern myself about that; for I was now one desperate, that valued not how things went.

In this careless, and indeed rash, foolish humour, I talked to myself thus: If I marry an honest woman, my children

will be taken care of; if she be a slut, and abuses me, as I see everybody does, I will kidnap her and send her to Virginia, to my plantations there, and there she shall work hard enough, and fare hard enough to keep her chaste, I'll warrant her.

I knew well enough at first that these were mad hair-brained notions, and I thought no more of being serious in them than I thought of being a man in the moon: but I know not how it happened to me, I reasoned and talked to myself in this wild manner so long, that I brought myself to be seriously desperate; that is, to resolve upon another marriage, with all the suppositions of unhappiness that could be imagined to fall out.

And yet even this rash resolution of my senses did not come presently to action; for I was half a year after this before I fixed upon anything; at last, as he that seeks mischief shall certainly find it, so it was with me. There happened to be a young, or rather, a middle-aged woman in the next town, which was but a half mile off, who usually was at my house, and among my children, every day when the weather was tolerable; and though she came but merely as a neighbour, and to see us, yet she was always helpful in directing and ordering things for them, and mighty handy about them, as well before my wife died as after.

Her father was one that I employed often to go to Liverpool, and sometimes to Whitehaven, and do business for me; for having, as it were, settled myself in the northern parts of England, I had ordered part of my effects to be shipped, as occasion of shipping offered, to either of those two towns, to which, the war continuing very sharp, it was safer coming, as to privateers, than about through the channel to London.

I took a mighty fancy at last, that this girl would answer my end, particularly that I saw she was mighty useful among the children; so on the other hand, the children loved her very well, and I resolved to love her too, flattering myself mightily, that as I had married two gentlewomen and one citizen, and they proved all three whores, I should now find what I wanted in an innocent country wench.

I took up a world of time in considering of this matter; indeed scarce any of my matches were done without very mature consideration; the second was the worst in that article, but in this, I thought of it, I believe, four months

most seriously before I resolved, and that very prudence spoiled the whole thing; however, at last being resolved, I took Mrs. Margaret one day as she passed by my parlour door, called her in, and told her I wanted to speak with her; she came readily in, but blushed mightily when I bade her sit down in a chair just by me.

I used no great ceremony with her, but told her that I had observed she had been mighty kind to my children, and was very tender to them, and that they all loved her, and that if she and I could agree about it, I intended to make her their mother, if she was not engaged to somebody else. The girl sat still, and said never a word, till I said those words, 'if she was not engaged to somebody else;' when she seemed struck. However, I took no notice of it, other than this, Look ye, Moggy, said I (so they call them in the country), if you have promised yourself, you must tell me. For we all knew that a young fellow, a good clergyman's wicked son, had hung about her a great while, two or three years, and made love to her, but could never get the girl in the mind, it seems, to have him.

She knew I was not ignorant of it, and therefore, after her first surprise was over, she told me Mr.—— had, as I knew, often come after her, but she had never promised him anything, and had, for several years, refused him; her father always telling her that he was a wicked fellow, and that he would be her ruin if she had him.

Well, Moggy, then, says I, what dost say to me? art thou free to make me a wife? She blushed and looked down upon the ground, and would not speak a good while; but, when I pressed her to tell me, she looked up, and said, she supposed I was but jesting with her; well, I got over that, and told her I was in very good earnest with her, and I took her for a sober, honest, modest girl, and, as I said, one that my children loved mighty well, and I was in earnest with her; if she would give me her consent, I would give her my word that I would have her, and we would be married to-morrow morning. She looked up again at that, and smiled a little, and said, No, that was too soon to say yes; she hoped I would give her some time to consider of it, and to talk with her father about it.

I told her she needed not much time to consider about it; but, however, I would give her till to-morrow morning,

which was a great while. By this time I had kissed Moggy two or three times, and she began to be freer with me; and, when I pressed her to marry me the next morning, she laughed, and told me it was not lucky to be married in her old clothes.

I stopped her mouth presently with that, and told her she should not be married in her old clothes, for I would give her some new. Ay, it may be afterwards, says Moggy, and laughed again. No, just now, says I, come along with me Moggy; so I carried her up stairs into my wife's room that was, and showed her a new morning gown of my wife's, that she had never worn above two or three times, and several other fine things. Look you there, Moggy, says I, there is a wedding-gown for you; give me your hand now that you will have me to-morrow morning; and as to your father, you know he has gone to Liverpool on my business, but I will answer for it, he shall not be angry when he comes home to call his master son-in-law, and I ask him no portion; therefore, give me thy hand for it, Moggy, says I, very merrily to her, and kissed her again; and the girl gave me her hand, and very pleasantly too, and I was mightily pleased with it, I assure you.

There lived about three doors from us an ancient gentleman, who passed for a doctor of physic, but who was really a Romish priest in orders, as there are many in that part of the country; and in the evening I sent to speak with him. He knew that I understood his professsion, and that I had lived in popish countries, and, in a word, believed me a Roman too, for I was such abroad. When he came to me, I told him the occasion for which I sent for him, and that it was to be to-morrow morning; he readily told me, if I would come and see him in the evening, and bring Moggy with me, he would marry us in his own study, and that it was rather more private to do it in the evening than in the morning; so I called Moggy again to me, and told her, since she and I had agreed the matter for to-morrow, it was as well to be done over night, and told her what the doctor had said.

Moggy blushed again, and said she must go home first, that she could not be ready before to-morrow. Look ye, Moggy, says I, you are my wife now, and you shall never go away from me a maid; I know what you mean, you would go home to shift you. Come, Moggy, says I, come along

with me again up stairs. So I carried her to a chest of linen, where were several new shifts of my last wife's, which she had never worn at all, and some that had been worn.

There is a clean smock for you, Moggy, says I, and to-morrow you shall have all the rest. When I had done this, Now, Moggy, says I, go and dress you; so I locked her in, and went down stairs. Knock, says I, when you are dressed.

After some time, Moggy did not knock, but down she came into my room, completely dressed, for there were several other things that I bade her take, and the clothes fitted her as if they had been made for her; it seems she slipped the lock back.

Well, Moggy, says I, now you see you shall not be married in your old clothes; so I took her in my arms, and kissed her, and well pleased I was, as ever I was in my life, or with anything I ever did in my life. As soon as it was dark, Moggy slipped away beforehand, as the doctor and I had agreed, to the old gentleman's housekeeper, and I came in about half an hour after, and there we were married in the doctor's study, that is to say, in his oratory, or chapel, a little room within his study, and we stayed and supped with him afterwards.

When, after a short stay more, I went home first, because I would send the children all to bed, and the other servants out of the way, and Moggy came some time after, and so we lay together that night. The next morning I let all the family know that Moggy was my wife, and my three children were rejoiced at it to the last degree. And now I was a married man a fourth time; and, in short, I was really more happy in this plain country girl, than with any of all the wives I had had. She was not young, being about thirty-three, but she brought me a son the first year; she was very pretty, well shaped, and of a merry cheerful disposition, but not a beauty; she was an admirable family manager, loved my former children, and used them not at all the worse for having some of her own. In a word, she made me an excellent wife, but lived with me but four years, and died of a hurt she got of a fall while she was with child, and in her I had a very great loss indeed.

And yet such was my fate in wives, that, after all the blushing and backwardness of Mrs. Moggy at first, Mrs.

Moggy had, it seems, made a slip in her younger days, and was got with child ten years before, by a gentleman of a great estate in that country, who promised her marriage, and afterwards deserted her; but as that had happened long before I came into the country, and the child was dead and forgotten, the people was so good to her, and so kind to me, that, hearing I had married her, nobody ever spoke of it, neither did I ever hear of it, or suspect it, till after she was in her grave, and then it was of small consequence to me one way or other, and she was a faithful, virtuous, obliging wife to me. I had a very severe affliction indeed while she lived with me, for the smallpox, a frightful distemper in that country, broke into my family, and carried off three of my children, and a maid-servant; so that I had only one of my former wife's, and one by my Moggy, the first a son, the last a daughter.

While these things were in agitation, came on the invasion of the Scots, aud the fight at Preston; and I have cause to bless the memory of my Moggy, for I was all on fire on that side, and just going away with horse and arms, to join the Lord Derwentwater; but Moggy begged me off (as I may call it), and hung about me so, with her tears and importunities, that I sat still and looked on, for which I had reason to be thankful.

I was really a sorrowful father, and the loss of my children stuck close to me, but the loss of my wife stuck closer to me than all the rest; nor was my grief lessened, or my kindest thoughts abated in the least, by the account I heard of her former miscarriages, seeing they were so long before I knew her, and were not discovered by me, or to me, in her lifetime.

All these things put together made me very comfortless. And now I thought heaven summoned me to retire to Virginia, the place, and, as I may say, the only place, I had been blessed at, or had met with anything that deserved the name of success in, and where, indeed, my affairs being in good hands, the plantations were increased to such a degree, that some years my return here made up eight hundred pounds, and one year almost a thousand; so I resolved to leave my native country once more, and taking my son with me, and leaving Moggy's daughter with her grandfather, I made him my principal agent, left him considerable in his

hands, for the maintenance of the child, and left my will in his hand, by which, if I died before I should otherwise provide for her, I left her 2000*l.* portion, to be paid by my son out of the estate I had in Virginia, and the whole estate, if he died unmarried.

I embarked for Virginia in the year ——, at the town of Liverpool, and had a tolerable voyage thither, only that we met with a pirate ship, in the latitude of 48 degrees, who plundered us of everything they could come at that was for their turn, that is to say, provisions, ammunition, small arms, and money; but, to give the rogues their due, though they were the most abandoned wretches that were ever seen, they did not use us ill; and as to my loss, it was not considerable, the cargo which I had on board was in goods, and was of no use to them; nor could they come at those things without rummaging the whole ship, which they did not think worth their while.

I found all my affairs in very good order at Virginia, my plantations prodigiously increased, and my manager who first inspired me with travelling thoughts, and made me master of any knowledge worth naming, received me with a transport of joy, after a ramble of four-and-twenty years.

I ought to remember it, to the encouragement of all faithful servants, that he gave me an account, which, I believe, was critically just, of the whole affairs of the plantations, each by themselves, and balanced in years, every year's produce being fully transmitted, charges deducted, to my order at London.

I was exceedingly satisfied, as I had good reason indeed, with his management; and with his management, as much in its degree, of his own, I can safely say it. He had improved a very large plantation of his own at the same time, which he began upon the foot of the country's allowance of land, and the encouragement he had from me.

When he had given me all this pleasing agreeable account, you will not think it strange that I had a desire to see the plantations, and to view all the servants, which, in both the works, were upwards of three hundred; and as my tutor generally bought some every fleet that came from England, I had the mortification to see two or three of the Preston gentlemen there, who, being prisoners of war, were spared from the public execution, and sent over to that slavery, which to gentlemen must be worse than death.

I do not mention what I did or said, relating to them, here; I shall speak at large of it, when the rest of them came over, which more nearly concerned me.

But one circumstance occurred to me here, that equally surprised me, and terrified me to the last degree; looking over all the servants, as I say above, and viewing the plantations narrowly and frequently, I came one day by a place where some women were at work by themselves. I was seriously reflecting on the misery of human life, when I saw some of those poor wretches; thought I, they have perhaps lived gay and pleasantly in the world, notwithstanding, through a variety of distresses, they may have been brought to this; and if a body was to hear the history of some of them now, it would perhaps be as moving and as seasonable a sermon as any minister in the country could preach.

While I was musing thus, and looking at the women, on a sudden I heard a combustion among other of the women-servants, who were almost behind me, in the same work, and help was called loudly for, one of the women having swooned away; they said she would die immediately if something was not done to relieve her. I had nothing about me but a little bottle, which we always carried about us there with rum, to give any servant a dram that merited that favour; so I turned my horse, and went up towards the place; but as the poor creature was lying flat on the ground, and the rest of the women-servants about her, I did not see her, but gave them the bottle, and they rubbed her temples with it, and, with much ado, brought her to life, and offered her a little to drink, but she could drink none of it, and was exceeding ill afterwards, so that she was carried to the infirmary, so they call it in the religious houses in Italy, where the sick nuns or friars are carried; but here, in Virginia, I think they should call it the condemned hole, for it really was only a place just fit for people to die in, not a place to be cured in.

The sick woman refusing to drink, one of the women-servants brought me the bottle again, and I bade them drink it among them, which had almost set them together by the ears for the liquor, there being not enough to give every one a sup.

I went home to my house immediately, and reflecting on the miserable provision was wont to be made for poor

servants when they were sick, I inquired of my manager, if it was so still? He said, he believed mine was better than any in the country; but he confessed it was but sad lodging; however, he said he would go and look after it immediately, and see how it was.

He came to me again about an hour after, and told me the woman was very ill, and frightened with her condition; that she seemed to be very penitent for some things in her past life, which lay heavy upon her mind, believing she should die; that she asked him if there were no ministers to comfort poor dying servants? and he told her, that she knew they had no minister nearer than such a place; but that, if she lived till morning, he should be sent for. He told me also, that he had removed her into a room where their chief workman used to lodge; that he had given her a pair of sheets, and everything he could, that he thought she wanted, and had appointed another woman-servant to attend her, and sit up with her.

Well, says I, that is well, for I cannot bear to have poor creatures lie and perish, by the mere hardship of the place they are in, when they are sick, and want help; besides, said I, some of those unfortunate creatures they call convicts, may be people that have been tenderly brought up. Really, sir, says he, this poor creature I always said had something of a gentlewoman in her, I could see it by her behaviour, and I have heard the other women say that she lived very great once, and that she had fifteen hundred pounds to her portion; and I dare say she has been a handsome woman in her time, and she has a hand as fine as a lady's now, though it be tanned with the weather; I dare say she was never brought up to labour as she does here, and she says to the rest that it will kill her.

Truly, says I, it may be so, and that may be the reason that she faints under it; and, I added, is there nothing you can put her to within doors, that may not be so laborious, and expose her to so much heat and cold? He told me yes, there was; he could set her to be the housekeeper, for the woman that lately was such, was out of her time, and was married and turned planter. Why then let her have it, said I, if she recovers, and in the mean time go, said I, and tell her so; perhaps the comfort of it may help to restore her.

He did so, and with that, taking good care of her, and

giving her good warm diet, the woman recovered, and in a little time was abroad again; for it was the mere weight of labour, and being exposed to hard lodging and mean diet, to one so tenderly bred, that struck her, and she fainted at her work.

When she was made housekeeper, she was quite another body; she put all the household into such excellent order, and managed their provisions so well, that my tutor admired her conduct, and would be every now and then speaking of her to me, that she was an excellent manager. I'll warrant, says he, she has been bred a gentlewoman, and she has been a fine woman in her time too. In a word, he said so many good things of her, that I had a mind to see her: so one day I took occasion to go to the plantation-house, as they called it, and into a parlour, always reserved for the master of the plantation; there she had opportunity to see me before I could see her, and as soon as she had seen me, she knew me; but indeed, had I seen her an hundred times, I should not have known her. She was, it seems, in the greatest confusion and surprise at seeing who I was, that it was possible for any one to be; and when I ordered my manager to bring her into the room, he found her crying, and begged him to excuse her, that she was frightened, and should die away if she came near me.

I, not imagining anything but that the poor creature was afraid of me (for masters in Virginia are terrible things), bade him tell her she need to be under no concern at my calling for her, for it was not for any hurt, nor for any displeasure, but that I had some orders to give her; so having, as he thought, encouraged her, though her surprise was of another kind, he brought her in. When she came in, she held a handkerchief in her hand, wiping her eyes, as if she had cried: Mrs. Housekeeper, said I, speaking cheerfully to her, don't be concerned at my sending for you, I have had a very good account of your management, and I called for you to let you know I am very well pleased with it; and if it falls in my way to do you any good, if your circumstances will allow it, I may be willing enough to help you out of your misery.

She made low courtesies, but said nothing; however, she was so far encouraged, that she took her hand from her face, and I saw her face fully, and I believe she did it, desiring I should

discover who she was, but I really knew nothing of her, any more than if I had never seen her in my life; but went on as I thought, to encourage her, as I used to do with any that I saw deserved it.

In the mean time my tutor, who was in the room, went out on some business or other, I know not what; as soon as he was gone, she burst out into a passion, and fell down on her knees just before me: O! sir, says she, I see you don't know me, be merciful to me, I am your miserable divorced wife!

I was astonished, I was frightened, I trembled like one in an ague, I was speechless; in a word, I was ready to sink, and she fell flat on her face, and lay there as if she had been dead. I was speechless, I say, as a stone. I had only presence of mind enough to step to the door and fasten it, that my tutor might not come in; then, going back to her, I took her up, and spoke comfortably to her, and told her I no more knew her than if I had never seen her.

O! sir, said she, afflictions are dreadful things; such as I have suffered have been enough to alter my countenance; but forgive, said she, for God's sake the injuries I have done you. I have paid dear for all my wickedness, and it is just, it is righteous, that God should bring me to your foot, to ask your pardon for all my brutish doings. Forgive me, sir, said she, I beseech you, and let me be your slave or servant for it as long as I live, it is all I ask. And with those words, she fell upon her knees again, and cried so vehemently, that it was impossible for her to stop it, or to speak a word more. I took her up again, made her sit down, desired her to compose herself, and to hear what I was going to say, though indeed, it touched me so sensibly, that I was hardly able to speak any more than she was.

First, I told her it was such a surprise to me, that I was not able to say much to her, and indeed the tears run down my face almost as fast as they did on hers. I told her that I should only tell her now, that, as nobody had yet known anything that had passed, so it was absolutely necessary not a word of it should be known; that it should not be the worse for her, that she was thus thrown in my hands again; but that I could do nothing for her if it was known, and, therefore, that her future good or ill-fortune would depend upon her entire concealing it; that, as my manager would

come in again presently, she should go back to her part of the house, and go on in the business, as she did before; that I would come to her, and talk more at large with her in a day or two. So she retired, after assuring me that not a word of it should go out of her mouth; and indeed she was willing to retire before my tutor came again, that he might not see the agony she was in.

I was so perplexed about this surprising incident, that I hardly knew what I did or said all that night, nor was I come to any settled resolution in the morning what course to take in it. However, in the morning I called my tutor, and told him that I had been exceedingly concerned about the poor distressed creature, the housekeeper; that I had heard some of her story, which was very dismal; that she had been in very good circumstances, and was bred very well, and that I was glad he had removed her out of the field into the house; but still she was almost naked, and that I would have him go down to the warehouse, and give her some linen, especially head-clothes, and all sorts of small things such as hoods, gloves, stockings, shoes, petticoats, &c., and to let her choose for herself; also a morning-gown of calico, and a mantua of a better kind of calico; that is to say, new clothe her; which he did, but brought me word, that he found her all in tears, and that she had cried all night long, and in short, he believed she would indeed cry herself to death; that all the while she was receiving the things he gave her, she cried; that now and then she would struggle with, and stop it, but that then, upon another word speaking, she would burst out again, so that it grieved everybody that saw her.

I was really affected with her case very much, but struggled hard with myself to hide it, and turned the discourse to something else; in the mean time, though I did not go to her the next day, nor till the third day, yet I studied day and night how to act, and what I should do in this remarkable case.

When I came to the house, which was the third day, she came into the room I was in, clothed all over with my things which I had ordered her, and told me she thanked God she was now my servant again, and wore my livery; thanked me for the clothes I had sent her, and said it was much more than she had deserved from me.

I then entered into discourses with her, nobody being

present but ourselves; and first I told her she should name no more of the unkind things that had past, for she had humbled herself more than enough on that subject, and I would never reproach her with anything that was past. I found that she had been the deepest sufferer by far; I told her it was impossible for me, in my present circumstances, to receive her there as a wife, who came over as a convict, neither did she know so little as to desire it; but, I told her, I might be instrumental to put an end to her misfortunes in the world, and especially to the miserable part of it, which was her present load, provided she could effectually keep her own counsel, and never let the particulars come out of her mouth, and that, from the day she did, she might date her irrecoverable ruin.

She was as sensible of the necessity of that part as I was, and told me all she could claim of me would be only to deliver her from her present calamity, that she was not able to support; and that then, if I pleased, she might live such a life as that she might apply the residue of what time she should have wholly to repentance; that she was willing to do the meanest offices in the world for me; and, though she should rejoice to hear that I would forgive her former life, yet that she would not look any higher than to be my servant as long as she lived; and, in the meantime, I might be satisfied she would never let any creature so much as know that I had ever seen her before.

I asked her if she was willing to let me into any part of the history of her life since she and I parted, but I did not insist upon it otherwise than as she thought convenient. She said, as her breach with me began first in folly, and ended in sin, so her whole life afterwards was a continued series of calamity, sin and sorrow, sin and shame, and at last misery; that she was deluded into gay company, and to an expensive way of living, which betrayed her to several wicked courses to support the expenses of it; that, after a thousand distresses and difficulties, being not able to maintain herself, she was reduced to extreme poverty.

That she would many times have humbled herself to me in the lowest and most submissive manner in the world, being sincerely penitent for her first crime, but that she never could hear of me, nor which way I was gone; that she was by that means so abandoned that she wanted bread,

and those wants and distresses brought her into bad company of another kind, and that she fell in among a gang of thieves, with whom she herded for some time, and got money enough a great while, but under the greatest dread and terror imaginable, being in the constant fear of coming to shame; that afterwards, what she feared was come upon her, and for a very trifling attempt, in which she was not principal, but accidentally concerned, she was sent to this place. She told me her life was such a collection of various fortunes, up and down, in plenty and in misery, in prison and at liberty, at ease and in torment, that it would take up a great many days to give me a history of it; that I was come to see the end of it, as I had seen the best part of the beginning; that I knew she was brought up tenderly, and fared delicately; but that now she was, with the prodigal, brought to desire husks with swine, and even to want that supply. Her tears flowed so strongly upon this discourse that they frequently interrupted her, so that she could not go on without difficulty, and at last could not go on at all; so I told her I would excuse her telling any more of her story at that time; that I saw it was but a renewing of her grief, and that I would rather contribute to her forgetting what was past, and desired her to say no more of it: so I broke off that part.

In the mean time I told her, since Providence had thus cast her upon my hands again, I would take care that she should not want, and that she should not live hardly neither, though I could go no farther at present; and thus she parted for that time, and she continued in the business of housekeeper; only that, to ease her, I gave her an assistant; and, though I would not have it called so, it was neither more nor less than a servant to wait on her, and do everything for her; and I told her, too, that it was so.

CHAPTER XVII.

MY TUTOR FALLS IN LOVE WITH MY QUONDAM WIFE—DIFFICULTIES THEREUPON—I TAKE HER AGAIN TO WIFE MYSELF—A RETROSPECT ATTENDED WITH DISAGREEABLE CONSEQUENCES—I FREIGHT A SLOOP, AND EMBARK FOR THE MADEIRAS.

After she had been some time in this place, she recovered her spirits, and grew cheerful; her fallen flesh plumped up, and the sunk and hollow parts filled again; so that she began to recover something of that brightness, and charming countenance, which was once so very agreeable to me; and sometimes I could not help having warm desires towards her, and of taking her into her first station again; but there were many difficulties occurred, which I could not get over a great while.

But in the meantime another odd accident happened, which put me to a very great difficulty, and more than I could have thought such a thing could be capable of. My tutor, a man of wit and learning, and full of generous principles, who was at first moved with compassion for the misery of this gentlewoman, and, even then, thought there were some things more than common in her, as I have hinted: now, when, as I say, she was recovered, and her sprightly temper restored and comforted, he was charmed so with her conversation that, in short, he fell in love with her.

I hinted, in my former account of her, that she had a charming tongue, was mistress of abundance of wit, that she sung incomparably fine, and was perfectly well-bred; these all remained with her still, and made her a very agreeable person; and, in short, he came to me one evening, and told me that he came to ask my leave to let him marry the housekeeper.

I was exceedingly perplexed at this proposal, but, however, I gave him no room to perceive that. I told him I hoped he had considered well of it before he brought it so far as to offer it to me, and supposed that he had agreed that point so, that I had no consent to give, but as she had almost four years of her time to serve.

He answered no, he paid such a regard to me, that he would not so much as take one step in such a thing without my knowledge, and assured me he had not so much as mentioned it to her. I knew not what answer indeed to make to him, but at last I resolved to put it off from myself to her, because then I should have opportunity to talk with her beforehand; so I told him he was perfectly free to act in the matter as he thought fit; that I could not say either one thing or another to it, neither had I any right to meddle in it; as to serving out her time with me, that was a trifle, and not worth naming, but I hoped he would consider well every circumstance before he entered upon such an affair as that.

He told me he had fully considered it already, and that he was resolved, seeing I was not against it, to have her whatever came of it, for he believed he should be the happiest man alive with her; then he ran on in his character of her, how clever a woman she was in the management of all manner of business, what admirable conversation she had, what a wit, what a memory, what a vast share of knowledge, and the like; all which I knew to be the truth, and yet short of her just character too; for, as she was all that formerly when she was mine, she was vastly improved in the school of affliction, and was all the bright part, with a vast addition of temper, prudence, judgment, and all that she formerly wanted.

I had not much patience, as you may well imagine, till I saw my honest housekeeper, to communicate this secret to her, and to see what course she would steer on so nice an occasion; but I was suddenly taken so ill with a cold, which held for two days, that I could not stir out of doors; and in this time the matter was all done and over, for my tutor had gone the same night, and made his attack, but was coldly received at first, which very much surprised him, for he made no doubt to have her consent at first word. However, the next day he came again, and again the third day, when, finding he was in earnest, and yet that she could not think of anything of that kind, she told him, in few words, that she thought herself greatly obliged to him for such a testimony of his respect to her, and should have embraced it willingly, as anybody would suppose one in her circumstances should do, but that she would not abuse him so much; for that, she must acknowledge to him, she was under obligations that prevented

her; that was, in short, that she was a married woman, and had a husband alive.

This was so sincere, but so effectual an answer, that he could have no room to reply one word to it; but that he was very sorry, and that it was a very great affliction to him, and as great a disappointment as ever he met with.

The next day after he had received this repulse, I came to the plantation-house, and, sending for the housekeeper, I began with her, and told her that I understood she would have a very advantageous proposal made to her, and that I would have her consider well of it, and then told her what my tutor had said to me.

She immediately fell a crying, at which I seemed to wonder very much. O! sir, says she, how can you name such a thing to me? I told her that I could name it the better to her, because I had been married myself since I parted from her. Yes, sir, says she, but the case alters; the crime being on my side, I ought not to marry; but, says she, that is not the reason at all, but I cannot do it. I pretended to press her to it, though not sincerely, I must acknowledge, for my heart had turned toward her for some time, and I had fully forgiven her in my mind all her former conduct; but, I say, I seemed to press her to it, at which she burst out in a passion; No, no, says she, let me be your slave rather than the best man's wife in the world. I reasoned with her upon her circumstances, and how such a marriage would restore her to a state of ease and plenty, and none in the world might ever know or suspect who or what she had been; but she could not bear it, but, with tears, again raising her voice, that I was afraid she would be heard, I beseech you, says she, do not speak of it any more; I was once yours, and I will never belong to any man else in the world; let me be as I am, or anything else you please to make me, but not a wife to any man alive but yourself.

I was so moved with the passion she was in at speaking this, that I knew not what I said or did for some time; at length I said to her, It is a great pity you had not long ago been as sincere as you are now, it had been better for us both; however, as it is, you shall not be forced to anything against your mind, nor shall you be the worse treated for refusing; but how will you put him off? No doubt he expects you will receive his proposal, as an advantage; and as he

sees no farther into your circumstances, so it is. O! sir, says she, I have done all that already; he has his answer, and is fully satisfied; he will never trouble you any more on that head; and then she told me what answer she had given him.

From that minute I resolved that I would certainly take her again to be my wife as before; I thought she had fully made me amends for her former ill conduct, and she deserved to be forgiven (and so indeed she did, if ever woman did, considering also what dreadful penance she had undergone, and how long she had lived in misery and distress); and that providence had, as it were, cast her upon me again; and, above all, had given her such an affection to me, and so resolved a mind, that she could refuse so handsome an offer of deliverance, rather than be farther separated from me.

As I resolved this in my mind, so I thought it was cruel to conceal it any longer from her; nor, indeed, could I contain myself any longer, but I took her in my arms; Well, says I, you have given me such a testimony of affection in this, that I can no longer withstand; I forgive you all that ever was between us on this account; and, since you will be nobody's but mine, you shall be mine again as you were at first.

But this was too much for her the other way, and now she was so far overcome with my yielding to her, that, had she not got vent to her passion, by the most vehement crying, she must have died in my arms; and I was forced to let her go, and set her down in a chair, where she cried for a quarter of an hour before she could speak a word.

When she was come to herself enough to talk again, I told her we must consider of a method how to bring this to pass, and that it must not be done by publishing there that she was my wife before, for that would expose us both, but that I would openly marry her again; this she agreed was very rational, and accordingly, about two months after, we were married again, and no man in the world ever enjoyed a better wife, or lived more happy than we both did for several years after.

And now I began to think my fortunes were settled for this world, and I had nothing before me but to finish a life of infinite variety, such as mine had been, with a comfortable retreat, being both made wiser by our sufferings and difficulties, and able to judge for ourselves what kind of life would

be best adapted to our present circumstances, and what station we might look upon ourselves to be most completely happy.

But man is a shortsighted creature at best, and in nothing more than in that of fixing his own felicity, or, as we may say, choosing for himself. One would have thought, and so my wife often suggested to me, that the state of life that I was now in, was as perfectly calculated to make a man completely happy, as any private station in the world could be. We had an estate more than sufficient, and daily increasing, for the supporting any state or figure that in that place we could propose to ourselves, or even desire to live in; we had everything that was pleasant and agreeable, without the least mortification in any circumstances of it; every sweet thing, and nothing to embitter it; every good, and no mixture of evil with it; nor any gap open where we could have the least apprehensions of any evil breaking out upon us; nor indeed was it easy for either of us, in our phlegmatic melancholy notions, to have the least imagination how anything disastrous could happen to us in the common course of things, unless something should befall us out of the ordinary way of providence, or of its acting in the world.

But an unseen mine blew up all this apparent tranquillity at once; and, though it did not remove my affairs there from me, yet it effectually removed me from them, and sent me a wandering into the world again; a condition full of hazards, and always attended with circumstances dangerous to mankind, while he is left to choose his own fortunes, and be guided by his own shortsighted measures.

I must now return to a circumstance of my history which had been past for some time, and which relates to my conduct, while I was last in England.

I mentioned how my faithful wife Moggy, with her tears and her entreaties, had prevailed with me not to play the madman, and openly join in the rebellion with the late Lord Derwentwater and his party, when they entered Lancashire; and thereby, as I may say, saved my life. But my curiosity prevailed so much at last, that I gave her the slip when they came to Preston, and at least thought I would go and look at them, and see what they were likely to come to.

My former wife's importunities, as above, had indeed prevailed upon me from publicly embarking in that enterprise, and joining openly with them in arms; and by this, as I have

observed, she saved my life to be sure, because I had then publicly espoused the rebellion, and had been known to have been among them, which might have been as fatal to me afterwards, though I had not been taken in the action as if I had.

But when they advanced and came nearer to us to Preston, and there appeared a greater spirit among the people in their favour, my old doctor, whom I mentioned before, who was a Romish priest, and had married us, inspired me with new zeal, and gave me no rest, till he obliged me, with only a good horse and arms, to join them the day before they entered Preston, he himself venturing in the same posture with me.

I was not so public here as to be very well known, at least by any one that had knowledge of me in the country where I lived; and this was indeed my safety afterwards, as you will soon hear; but yet I was known too among the men, especially among the Scots, with some of whom I had been acquainted in foreign service. With these I was particularly conversant, and passed for a French officer. I talked to them of making a select detachment to defend the pass between Preston and the river and bridge; upon maintaining which as I insisted, depended the safety of the whole party.

It was with some warmth that I spoke of that affair; and as I passed among them, I say, for a French officer, and a man of experience, it caused several debates among them; but the hint was not followed, as is well known, and from that moment I gave them all up as lost, and meditated nothing but how to escape from them, which I effected the night before they were surrounded by the royal cavalry. I did not do this without great difficulty, swimming the river Ribble, at a place where, though I got well over, yet I could not for a long while get to a place where my horse could land himself, that is to say, where the ground was firm enough for him to take the land: however, at length I got on shore, and riding very hard, came the next evening in sight of my own dwelling; here, after lying by in a wood till the depth of night, I shut my horse in a little kind of a gravel pit, or marl pit, where I soon covered him with earth for the present, and marching all alone, I came about two in the morning to my house, where my wife, surprised with joy, and yet terribly frightened, let me in, and then I took immediate measures to secure my-

self upon whatever incident might happen, but which, as things were ordered, I had no need to make use of, for the rebels being entirely defeated, and either all killed or taken prisoners, I was not known by anybody in the country to have been among them; no, nor so much as suspected. And thus I made a narrow escape from the most dangerous action, and most foolishly embarked in, of any that I had ever been engaged in before.

It was very lucky to me that I killed and buried my horse, for he would have been taken two days after, and would, to be sure, have been known by those who had seen me upon him at Preston; but now, as none knew I had been abroad, nor any such circumstance could discover me, I kept close, and as my excursion had been short, and I had not been missed by any of my neighbours, if anybody came to speak with me, behold I was at home.

However, I was not thoroughly easy in my mind, and secretly wished I was in my own dominions in Virginia, to which in a little time, other circumstances occurring, I made preparations to remove with my whole family.

In the mean time, as above, the action at Preston happened, and the miserable people surrendered to the king's troops; some were executed for examples, as in such cases is usual, and the government extending mercy to the multitude, they were kept in Chester castle, and other places a considerable time, till they were disposed of, some one way, some another, as we shall hear.

Several hundreds of them, after this, were at their own request transported, as it is vulgarly expressed, to the plantations, that is to say, sent to Virginia, and other British colonies, to be sold after the usual manner of condemned criminals, or, as we call them there, convicts, to serve a limited time in the country, and then be made freemen again. Some of these I have spoken of above; but now, to my no little uneasiness, I found, after I had been there some time, two ships arrived with more of these people in the same river, where all my plantations lay.

I no sooner heard of it, but the first step I took was, to resolve to let none of them be bought into my work, or to any of my plantations; and this I did, pretending that I would not make slaves every day of unfortunate gentlemen, who fell into that condition for their zeal to their party only,

and the like; but the true reason was, that I expected several of them would know me, and might perhaps betray me, and make it public, that I was one of the same sort, but had made my escape, and so I might be brought into trouble; and if I came off with my life, might have all my effects seized on, and be reduced to misery and poverty again at once, all which I thought I had done enough to deserve.

This was a just caution; but as I found quickly was not a sufficient one, as my circumstances stood, for my safety; for though I bought none of these poor men myself, yet several of my neighbours did, and there was scarce a plantation near me but had some of them, more or less, among them; so that, in a word, I could not peep abroad hardly, but I was in danger to be seen and known too, by some or other of them.

I may be allowed to say, that this was a very uneasy life to me, and such, that in short, I found myself utterly unable to bear; for I was now reduced from a great man, a magistrate, a governor, or master of three plantations, and having three or four hundred servants at my command, to be a poor self-condemned rebel, and durst not show my face; and that I might with the same safety, or rather more, have skulked about in Lancashire where I was, or gone up to London, and concealed myself there till things had been over; but now the danger was come home to me, even to my door, and I expected nothing but to be informed against every day, be taken up, and sent to England in irons, and have all my plantations seized on, as a forfeited estate to the crown.

I had but one hope of safety to trust to, and that was, that having been so little a while among them, done nothing for them, and passing for a stranger, they never knew my name, but only I was called the French colonel, or the French officer, or the French gentleman, by most, if not by all, the people there; and as for the doctor that went with me, he had found means to escape too, though not the same way that I did, finding the cause not likely to be supported, and that the king's troops were gathering on all sides round them like a cloud.

But to return to myself; this was no satisfaction to me, and what to do I really knew not; for I was more at a loss how to shift in such a distressed case as this, now it lay so close to me, than ever I was in any difficulty in my life. The

first thing I did was to come home, and make a confidence of the whole affair to my wife; and though I did it generously without conditions, yet I did not do it without first telling her, how I was now going to put my life into her hands, that she might have it in her power to pay me home, for all that she might think had been hard in my former usage of her; and that, in short, it would be in her power to deliver me up into the hands of my enemies, but that I would trust her generosity, as well as her renewed affection, and put all upon her fidelity, and, without any more precaution, I opened the whole thing to her, and, particularly, the danger I was now in.

A faithful counsellor is life from the dead, gives courage where the heart is sinking, and raises the mind to a proper use of means; and such she was to me indeed upon every step of this affair, and it was by her direction that I took every step that followed for the extricating myself out of this labyrinth.

Come, come, my dear, says she, if this be all, there is no room for any such disconsolate doings as your fears run you upon; for I was immediately for selling off my plantations, and all my stock, and embarking myself forthwith, and to get to Madeiras, or to any place out of the king's dominions.

But my wife was quite of another opinion, and encouraging me on another account, proposed two things, either my freighting a sloop with provisions to the West Indies, and so taking passage from thence to London, or letting her go away directly for England, and endeavour to obtain the king's pardon, whatever it might cost.

I inclined to the last proposal; for though I was unhappily prejudiced in favour of a wrong interest, yet I had always a secret and right notion of the clemency and merciful disposition of his majesty, and, had I been in England, should, I believe, have been easily persuaded to have thrown myself at his feet.

But going to England, as I was circumstanced, must have been a public action, and I must have made all the usual preparations for it, must have appeared in public, have stayed till the crop was ready, and gone away in form and state as usual, or have acted as if something extraordinary was the matter, and have filled the heads of the people there with innumerable suggestions of they knew not what.

But my wife made all this easy to me, from her own invention; for, without acquainting me of anything, she comes merrily to me one morning before I was up: My dear, says she, I am very sorry to hear that you are not very well this morning, I have ordered Pennico (that was a young negro girl which I had given her), to make you a fire in your chamber, and pray lie still where you are awhile, till it is done; at the same instant the little negro came in with wood, and a pair of bellows, &c., to kindle the fire, and my wife not giving me time to reply, whispers close to my ear, to lie still, and say nothing till she came up again to me.

I was thoroughly frightened, that you may be sure of, and thought of nothing but of being discovered, betrayed, and carried to England, hanged, quartered, and all that was terrible, and my very heart sunk within me. She perceived my disorder, and turned back, assuring me there was no harm, desired me to be easy, and she would come back again presently, and give me satisfaction in every particular that I could desire; so I composed myself awhile as well as I could, but it was but a little while that I could bear it, and I sent Pennico down stairs to find out her mistress, and tell her I was very ill, and must speak with her immediately, and the girl was scarce out of the room before I jumped out of bed and began to dress me, that I might be ready for all events.

My wife was as good as her word, and was coming up as the girl was going down; I see, says she, you want patience, but pray do not want government of yourself, but take that screen before your face, and go to the window, and see if you know any of those Scotchmen that are in the yard, for there are seven or eight of them come about some business to your clerk.

I went and looked through the screen, and saw the faces of them all distinctly, but could make nothing of them, other than that they were Scotchmen, which was easy to discern; however it was no satisfaction to me that I knew not their faces, for they might know mine for all that, according to the old English proverb, "that more knows Tom Fool, than Tom Fool knows;" so I kept close in my chamber till I understood they were all gone.

After this my wife caused it to be given out in the house,

that I was not well; and when this not being well had lasted three or four days, I had my leg wrapped up in a great piece of flannel, and laid upon a stool, and there I was lame of the gout; and this served for about six weeks, when my wife told me she had given it out, that my gout was rather rheumatic than a settled gout, and that I was resolved to take one of my own sloops, and go to Nevis or Antigua, and use the hot baths there for my cure.

All this was very well, and I approved my wife's contrivance as admirably good, both to keep me within doors eight or ten weeks at first, and to convey me away afterwards without any extraordinary bustle to be made about it; but still I did not know what it all tended to, and what the design of it all was, but my wife desired me to leave that to her, so I really did, and she carried it all on with a prudence not to be disputed; and after she had wrapt my legs in flannel almost three months, she came and told me the sloop was ready, and all the goods put on board: And now, my dear, says she, I come to tell you all the rest of my design; for, added she, I hope you will not think I am going to kidnap you, and transport you from Virginia, as other people are transported to it, or that I am going to get you sent away and leave myself in possession of your estate; but you shall find me the same faithful creature, which I should have been if I had been still your slave, and not had any hopes of being your wife, and that in all my scheme which I have laid for your safety, in this new exigence, I have not proposed your going one step but where I shall go and be always with you, to assist and serve you on all occasions, and to take my portion with you, of what kind soever our lot may be.

This was so generous, and so handsome a declaration of her fidelity, and so great a token too of the goodness of her judgment, in considering of the things which were before her, and of what my present circumstances called for, that, from that time forward, I gave myself cheerfully up to her management, without any hesitation in the least, and after about ten days preparation, we embarked in a large sloop of my own of about sixty tons.

I should have mentioned here, that I had still my faithful tutor, as I called him, at the head of my affairs; and, as he knew who to correspond with, and how to manage the

correspondence in England, we left all that part to him, as I had done before; and I did this with a full satisfaction in his ability as well as in his integrity: it is true, he had been a little chagrined in that affair of my wife, who, as I hinted before, had married me, after telling him, in answer to his solicitations, that she had a husband alive.

Now, though this was literally true, yet, as it was a secret not fit to be opened to him, I was obliged to put him off with other reasons, as well as I could, perhaps not much to the purpose, and perhaps not much to his satisfaction, so that I reckoned he looked on himself as not very kindly used several ways.

But he began to get over it, and to be easy, especially at our going away, when he found that the trust of every thing was still left in his hands, as it was before.

When my wife had thus communicated every thing of the voyage to me, and we began to be ready to go off, she came to me one morning, and, with her usual cheerfulness, told me, she now came to tell me the rest of her measures for the completing my deliverance; and this was, that while we made this trip, as she called it, to the hot springs at Nevis, she would write to a particular friend at London, whom she could depend upon, to try to get a pardon for a person on account of the late rebellion, with all the circumstances which my case was attended with, viz., of having acted nothing among them, but being three days in the place; and, while we were thus absent, she did not question but to have an answer, which she would direct to come so many ways, that we would be sure to have the first of it, as soon as it was possible the vessels could go and come; and in the mean time the expense should be very small, for she would have an answer to the grand question first, whether it could be obtained or no; and then an account of the expense of it, that so I might judge for myself, whether I would part with the needful sum or no, before any money was disbursed on my account.

I could not but be thoroughly satisfied with her contrivance in this particular, and I had nothing to add to it, but that I would not have her limit her friend so strictly, but that if he saw the way clear, and that he was sure to obtain it, he should go through stitch with it, if within the expense of two, or three, or four hundred pounds, and that upon advice

of its being practicable, he should have bills payable by such a person on delivery of the warrant for the thing.

To fortify this, I enclosed in her packet a letter to one of my correspondents, who I could particularly trust, with a credit for the money, on such and such conditions; but the honesty and integrity of my wife's correspondence was such, as prevented all the expense, and yet I had the wished for security, as if it had been all paid, as you shall hear presently.

All these things being fixed to our minds, and all things left behind in good posture of settlement as usual, we embarked together and put to sea, having the opportunity of an English man-of-war, being on the coast in pursuit of the pirates, and who was just then standing away towards the gulf of Florida, and told us he would see us safe as far as New Providence, or the Bahama islands.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WE ARE CHASED BY A BRIGANTINE AND SLOOP, PRIVATEERS—DURING THE CHASE THEY DISCOVER AN ENGLISH MAN-OF-WAR, AND SHEER OFF—ARRIVE SAFE AT ANTIGUA—MY WIFE RETURNS TO VIRGINIA IN THE SLOOP, TO WAIT NEWS FROM ENGLAND—THE VESSEL RETURNS GUTTED OF ITS CARGO BY PIRATES, BUT WITH NEWS OF MY DELIVERANCE—TRANSACTIONS ON MY VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA.

And now having fair weather and a pleasant voyage, and my flannels taken off my legs, I must hint a little what cargo I had with me; for as my circumstances were very good in that country, so I did not go such a voyage as this, and with a particular reserve of fortunes whatever might afterwards happen, without a sufficient cargo for our support, and whatever exigence might happen.

Our sloop, as I said, was of about sixty or seventy tons; and as tobacco, which is the general produce of the country, was no merchandize at Nevis, that is to say, for a great quantity, so we carried very little, but loaded the sloop with corn, pease, meal, and some barrels of pork, and an excellent cargo it was, most of it being the produce of my own plantation;

we took also a considerable sum of money with us in Spanish gold, which was, as above, not for trade, but for all events. I also ordered another sloop to be hired, and to be sent after me, loaden with the same goods, as soon as they should have advice from me that I was safe arrived.

We came to the latitude of the island of Antigua, which was very near to that of Nevis, whither we intended to go, on the 18th day after our passing the Capes of Virginia, but had no sight of the island, only our master said he was sure, if he stood the same course as he then was, and the gale held, I say he told me, he was sure he should make the island in less than five hour's sail; so he stood on fair for the islands. However his account had failed him, for we held on all the evening, made no land, and likewise all night, when in the grey of the morning, we discovered, from the topmast head, a brigantine and a sloop making sail after us, at the distance of about six leagues, fair weather, and the wind fresh at S.E.

Our master soon understood what they were, and came down into the cabin to me, to let me know it. I was much surprised you may be sure at the danger, but my poor wife took from me all the concern for myself to take care of her, for she was frightened to that degree, that I thought we should not have been able to keep life in her.

While we were thus under the first hurry, and surprise of the thing, suddenly another noise from the deck called us up to look out, and that was, Land! land! The master and I, for by this time I had gotten out of my cabin, run upon the deck, and there we saw the state of our case very plain. The two rogues that stood after us, laid on all the canvas they could carry, and crowdod after us amain; but at the distance, as I have said, of about six leagues, rather more than less; on the other hand, the land discovered lay about nine leagues right ahead; so that, if the pirates could gain on us, so as to sail three foot for our two, it was evident they would be up with us before we could make the island; if not, we should escape them and get in; but even then, we had no great hope to do any more than to run the ship ashore to save our lives, and so, stranding our vessel, spoil both sloop and cargo.

When we were making this calculation, our master came in cheerfully, and told me he had crowded on more sail, and

found the sloop carried it very well, and that he did not find the rogues gained much upon us, and that especially, if one of them did not, that was the sloop, he found he could go away from the brigantine as he pleased. Thus we gave them what they call a stern chase, and they worked hard to come up with us till towards noon, when on a sudden they both stood away, and gave us over, to our great satisfaction you may be sure.

We did not, it seems, so easily see the occasion of our deliverance, as the pirate did; for while we went spooning away large with the wind for one of the islands, with those two spurs in our heels, that is, with the two thieves at our sterns, there lay an English man-of-war in the road of Nevis, which was the same island from whence they espied the pirates, but the land lying between, we could not see them.

As the man-of-war discovered them, she immediately slipped her cable, and put herself under sail in chase of the rogues, and they as soon perceived her; and, being windward, put themselves upon a wind to escape her; and thus we were delivered, and in half an hour more we knew who was our deliverer, seeing the man-of-war stretch ahead clear of the island, and stand directly after the pirates, who now crowded from us as fast as they crowded after us before, and thus we got safe into Antigua, after the terrible apprehension we had been in of being taken. Our apprehensions of being taken now were much more than they would have been on board a loaden ship, from, or to London, where the most they ordinarily do is to rifle the ship, take what is valuable and portable, and let her go; but ours being but a sloop, and all our loading being good provisions, such as they wanted, to be sure, for their ship's store, they would certainly have carried us away, ship and all, taken out the cargo and the men, and perhaps have set the sloop on fire; so that, as to our cargo of gold, it had been inevitably lost, and we hurried away, nobody knows where, and used as such barbarous fellows are wont to use innocent people as fall into their hands.

But we were now out of their hands, and had the satisfaction, a few days after, to hear that the man-of-war pursued them so close, notwithstanding they changed their course in the night, that the next day they were obliged to separate, and shift for themselves; so the man-of-war took one of them,

namely, the brigantine, and carried her into Jamaica, but, the other, viz., the sloop, made her escape.

Being arrived here, we presently disposed of our cargo, and at a tolerable good price; and now the question was, what I should do next? I looked upon myself to be safe here from the fears I had been under of being discovered as a rebel, and so indeed I was; but having been now absent five months, and having sent the ship back with a cargo of rum and molasses, which I knew was wanting in my plantations, I received the same vessel back in return, loaden, as at first, with provisions.

With this cargo my wife received a packet from London, from the person whom she had employed, as above, to solicit a pardon, who very honestly wrote to her, that he would not be so unjust to her friend, whomever he was, as to put him to any expense for a private solicitation; for that he was very well assured that his majesty had resolved, from his own native disposition to acts of clemency and mercy to his subjects, to grant a general pardon, with some few exceptions to persons extraordinary, and he hoped her friend was none of the extraordinary persons to be excepted.

This was a kind of life from the dead to us both, and it was resolved that my wife should go back in the sloop directly to Virginia, where she should wait the good news from England, and should send me an account of it as soon as she received it.

Accordingly she went back, and came safe with the sloop and cargo to our plantation, from whence, after above four months' expectation, behold the sloop came to me again, but empty, and gutted of all her cargo, except about a hundred sacks of unground malt, which the pirates, not knowing how to brew, knew not what to do with, and so had left in her. However, to my infinite satisfaction, there was a packet of letters from my wife, with another to her from England, as well one from her friend, as one from my own correspondent; both of them intimating, that the king had signed an act of grace, that is to say, a general free pardon, and sent me copies of the act, wherein it was manifest that I was fully included.

And here let me hint, that, having now, as it were, received my life at the hands of King George, and in a manner so satisfying as it was to me, it made a generous convert of me, and I became sincerely given in to the interest

of King George; and this from a principle of gratitude, and a sense of my obligation to his majesty for my life; and it has continued ever since, and will certainly remain with me as long as any sense of honour, and of the debt of gratitude, remains with me. I mention this, to hint how far, in such cases, justice and duty to ourselves commands us; namely, that to those who graciously give us our lives, when it is in their power to take them away, those lives are a debt ever after, and ought to be set apart for their service and interest, as long as any of the powers of life remain; for gratitude is a debt that never ceases while the benefit received remains; and if my prince has given me my life, I can never pay the debt fully, unless such a circumstance as this should happen, that the prince's life should be in my power, and I as generously preserved it; and yet, neither would the obligation be paid then, because the cases would differ; thus, that my preserving the life of my prince was my natural duty, whereas the prince on his side, my life being forfeited to him, had no motive but mere clemency and beneficence.

Perhaps this principle may not please all that read it; but as I have resolved to guide my actions in things of such a nature by the rules of strict virtue and principles of honour, so I must lay it down as a rule of honour, that a man having once forfeited his life to the justice of his prince, and to the laws of his country, and receiving it back as a bounty from the grace of his sovereign, such a man can never lift up his hand again against that prince, without a forfeiture of his virtue, and an irreparable breach of his honour and duty, and deserves no pardon after it, either from God or man. But all this is a digression: I leave it as a sketch of the laws of honour, printed by the laws of nature in the breast of a soldier, or a man of honour, and which, I believe all impartial persons, who understand what honour means, will subscribe to.

But I return now to my present circumstances: my wife was gone, and, with her, all my good fortune and success in business seemed to have forsaken me; and I had another scene of misery to go through, after I had thought that all my misfortunes were over and at an end.

My sloop, as I have told you, arrived, but having met with a pirate rogue in the gulf of Florida, they took her first, then, finding her cargo to be all eatables, which they always want, they gutted her of all her loading, except, as I

have said, about a hundred sacks of malt, which they really knew not what to do with; and, which was still worse, they took all the men, except the master and two boys, whom they left on board, just to run the vessel into Antigua, where they said they were bound.

But the most valuable part of my cargo, viz., a packet of letters from England, those they left, to my inexpressible comfort and satisfaction; and, particularly, that by those, I saw my way home to return to my wife, and to my plantations, from which I promised myself never to wander any more.

In order to this, I now embarked myself, and all my effects, on board the sloop, resolving to sail directly to the capes of Virginia. My captain beating it up to reach the Bahama channel, had not been two days at sea, but we were overtaken by a violent storm, which drove us so far upon the coast of Florida, as that we twice struck upon the shore, and had we struck a third time, we had been inevitably lost. A day or two after that, the storm abating a little, we kept the sea, but found the wind blowing so strong against our passing the gulf, and the sea going so high, we could not hold it any longer; so we were forced to bear away, and make what shift we could; in which distress, the fifth day after, we made land, but found it to be Cape ———, the north-west part of the isle of Cuba. Here we found ourselves under a necessity to run in under the land for shelter, though we had not come to an anchor, so we had not touched the king of Spain's territories at all. However, in the morning, we were surrounded with five Spanish barks, or boats, such as they call Barco Longos, full of men; who instantly boarded us, took us and carried us into the Havannah, the most considerable port belonging to the Spaniards in that part of the world.

Here the sloop was immediately seized, and in consequence plundered, as any one that knows the Spaniards, especially in that country, will easily guess, our men were made prisoners, and sent to the common gaol; and as for myself and the captain, we were carried before the Alcade Major, or intendant of the place, as criminals.

I spoke Spanish very well, having served under the king of Spain in Italy, and it stood me in good stead at this time; for I so effectually argued the injustice of their treatment of me, that the govenor, or what I ought to call him, frankly

owned they ought not to have stopped me, seeing I was in the open sea, pursuing my voyage, and offered no offence to anybody, and had not landed, or offered to land, upon any part of his catholic majesty's dominions, till I was brought as a prisoner.

It was a great favour that I could obtain thus much; but I found it easier to obtain an acknowledgment that I had received wrong than to get any satisfaction for that wrong, and much less was there any hope or prospect of restitution; and I was let know that I was to wait till an account could be sent to the viceroy of Mexico, and orders could be received back from him how to act in the affair.

I could easily foresee what all this tended to, namely, to a confiscation of the ship and goods, by the ordinary process at the place; and that my being left to the decision of the viceroy of Mexico was but a pretended representation of things to him from the corregidore, or judge of the place.

However, I had no remedy but the old insignificant thing, called patience; and this I was better furnished with, because I did not so much value the loss as I made them believe I did. My greatest apprehensions were, that they would detain me, and keep me as a prisoner for life, and perhaps send me to their mines in Peru, as they have done many, and pretended to do to all that come on shore in their dominions, how great soever the distresses may have been which have brought them thither, and which has been the reason why others, who have been forced on shore, have committed all manner of violence upon the Spaniards in their turn; resolving, however dear they sold their lives, not to fall into their hands.

But I got better quarter among them than that too, which was, as I have said, much of it owing to my speaking Spanish, and to my telling them how I had fought in so many occasions in the quarrel of his catholic majesty in Italy; and, by great good chance, I had the king of France's commission for lieutenant-colonel in the Irish brigade in my pocket, where it was mentioned that the said brigade was then serving in the armies of France, under the orders of his catholic majesty, in Italy.

I failed not to talk up the gallantry and personal bravery of his catholic majesty on all occasions, and particular in many battles, where, by the way, his majesty had never

been at all, and in some where I had never been myself; but I found I talked to people who knew nothing of the matter, and so anything went down with them, if it did but praise the king of Spain, and talk big of the Spanish cavalry, of which, God knows, there was not one regiment in the army, at least while I was there.

However, this way of managing myself obtained me the liberty of the place, upon my parole, that I would not attempt an escape; and I obtained also, which was a great favour, to have two hundred pieces of eight allowed me out of the sale of my cargo, for subsistence, till I could negociate my affairs at Mexico; as for my men, they were maintained as prisoners, at the public charge.

Well, after several months' solicitation and attendance, all I could obtain was, the satisfaction of seeing my ship and cargo confiscated, and my poor sailors in a fair way to be sent to the mines. The last I begged off, upon condition of paying three hundred pieces of eight for their ransom, and having them set on shore at Antigua, and myself to remain hostage for the payment of the said three hundred pieces of eight, and for two hundred pieces of eight, which I had already had, and for five hundred pieces of eight more for my own ransom, if, upon a return from Mexico, the sentence of confiscation, as above, should be confirmed by the viceroy.

These were hard articles indeed; but I was forced to submit to them; nor, as my circumstances were above all such matters as these, as to substance, did I lay it much to heart; the greatest difficulty that lay in my way was, that I knew not how to correspond with my friends in any part of the world, or which way to supply myself with necessaries, or with money for the payment I had agreed to; the Spaniards being so tenacious of their ports, that they allowed nobody to come on shore, or indeed near the shore, from any part of the world, upon pain of seizure and confiscation, as had been my case already. Upon this difficulty I began to reason with the corregidore, and tell him that he put things upon us that were impossible, and that were inconsistent with the customs of nations; that if a man was a prisoner at Algiers, they would allow him to write to his friends to pay his ransom, and would admit the person that brought it to come and go free, as a public person, and, if they did not, no treaty could be carried on

for the ransom of a slave, nor the conditions be performed when they are agreed upon.

I brought it then down to my own case, and desired to know, upon supposition, that I might, within the time limited in that agreement, have the sums of money ready for the ransom of my men and of myself, how I should obtain to have notice given me of it? Or, how it should be brought, seeing the very persons bringing that notice, or afterwards presuming to bring the money, might be liable to be seized and confiscated, as I had been, and the money itself be taken as a second prize, without redeeming the first.

Though this was so reasonable a request, that it could not be withstood in point of argument, yet the Spaniard shrunk his head into his shoulders, and said they had not power sufficient to act in such a case; that the king's laws were so severe against the suffering any strangers to set their foot on his catholic majesty's dominions in America, and they could not dispense with the least tittle of them, without a particular assiento, as they called it, from the consulado, or chamber of commerce, at Seville; or a command under the hand and seal of the viceroy of Mexico.

How! signior corregidore, said I, with some warmth, and, as it were, with astonishment, have you not authority enough to sign a passport for an agent, or ambassador, to come on shore here, from any of the king of Great Britain's governors in these parts, under a white flag, or flag of truce, to speak with the governor of this place, or with any other person in the king's name, on the subject of such business as the governor may have to communicate? Why, said I, if you cannot do that, you cannot act according to the law of nations.

He shook his head, but still said, No, he could not do even so much as that; but here one of the military governors put in and opposed him, and they two differed warmly; the first insisting that their orders were deficient in that particular; but the other said that, as they were bound up to them, it could not be in their power to act otherwise, and that they were answerable for the ill consequences.

Well, then, says the governor to the corregidore, now you have kept this Englishman as hostage for the ransom of the men that you have dismissed, suppose he tells you the money is ready, either at such, or such, or such a place, how shall

he bring it hither? you will take all the people prisoners that offer to bring it; what must he do? if you say you will send and fetch it, what security shall he have, that he shall have his liberty when it is paid you? and why should he trust you so far as to pay the money, and yet remain here a prisoner?

This carried so much reason with it, that the corregidore knew not what to say; but that so was the law, and he could act no otherwise, but by the very letter of it; and here each was so positive that nothing could determine it, but another express to be sent to the viceroy of Mexico.

Upon this, the governor was so kind, as to say he would get me a passport for anybody that should bring the money, and any vessel they were in, by his own authority, and for their safe returning, and taking me with them, provided I would answer for it, that they should bring no European or other goods whatever with them, and should not set foot on shore without his express permission, and provided he did not receive orders to the contrary, in the mean time, from any superior hand; and that even, in such a case, they should have liberty to go back freely from whence they came, under the protection of a white flag.

I bowed very respectfully to the governor, in token of my acknowledging his justice, and then presented my humble petition to him, that he would allow my men to take their own sloop; that it should be rated at a certain value, and would be obliged they should bring specie on board with them, and that they should either pay it for the sloop, or leave the sloop again.

Then he inquired to what country he would send them for so much money, and if I could assure him of the payment; and, when he understood it was no farther than to Virginia, he seemed very easy; and, to satisfy the corregidore, who still stood off, adhering with a true Spanish stiffness, to the letter of the law, the said governor calls out to me: Signior, says he, I shall make all this matter easy to you, if you agree to my proposal; your men shall have the sloop, on condition you shall be my hostage for her return; but they shall not take her as your sloop, though she shall in the effect be yours, on the payment of the money; but you shall take two of my men on board with you, upon your parole for their safe return, and when she returns, she shall carry his catholic

majesty's colours, and be entered as one of the sloops belonging to the Havannah; one of the Spaniards to be commander, and to be called by such name as he shall appoint.

This the corregidore came into immediately, and said, this was within the letter of the king's commanderie, or precept, upon condition, however, that she should bring no European goods on board. I desired it might be put in other words; namely, that she should bring no European goods on shore. It cost two days' debate between these two, whether it should pass, that no European goods should be brought in the ship, or brought on shore; but having found means to intimate, that I meant not to trade there, but would not be tied from bringing a small present to a certain person, in acknowledgment of favours; I say, after I had found room to place such a hint right, where it should be placed, I found it was all made easy to me, and it was all agreed presently, that, after the ransom was paid, and the ship also bought, it was but reasonable, that I should have liberty to trade to any other country, not in the dominions of the king of Spain, so to make up my losses; and that it would be hard to oblige my men to bring away the vessel light, and so lose the voyage, and add so much to our former misfortunes; that, so long as no goods were brought on shore in the country belonging to his catholic majesty's dominions, which was all that they had to defend, the rest was no business of theirs.

Now I began to see my way through this unhappy business, and to find, that as money would bring me out of it, so money would bring it to turn to a good account another way; wherefore I sent the sloop away under Spanish colours, and called her the Nuestra Signiora de la Val de Grace, commanded by Signior Giraldo de Nesma, one of the two Spaniards.

With the sloop I sent letters to my wife, and to my chief manager, with orders to load her back. I there directed, viz., that she should have two hundred barrels of flour, fifty barrels of pease, and, to answer my other views, I ordered a hundred bales to be made up of all sorts of European goods, such as not my own warehouses only would supply, but such as they could be supplied with in other warehouses, where I knew they had credit for anything.

In this cargo I directed all the richest and most valuable English goods they had, or could get, whether linen, woollen, or silk, to be made up; the coarser things, such as we use in

Virginia for clothing of servants, such I ordered to be left behind, for the use of the plantation. In less than seven weeks time the sloop returned, and I, that failed not every day to look out for her on the strand, was the first that spied her at sea at a distance, and knew her by her sails, but afterwards more particularly by her signals.

When she returned, she came into the road with her Spanish ancient flying, and came to an anchor, as directed; but I, that had seen her some hours before, went directly to the governor, and gave him an account of her being come, and fain I would have obtained the favour to have his excellency, as I called him, go on board in person, that he might see how well his orders were executed; but he declined that, saying, he could not justify going off the island, which was, in short, to go out of his command of the fort, which he could not reassume without a new commission from the king's own hand.

Then I asked leave to go on board myself, which he granted me, and I brought on shore with me the full sum in gold, which I had conditioned to pay for the ransom, both of my men and myself, and for the purchase of the sloop; and as I obtained leave to land in a different place, so my governor sent his son, with six soldiers, to receive and convey me with the money to the castle, where he commanded, and therein to his own house. I had made up the money in heavy parcels, as if it had been all silver, and gave it to two of my men, who belonged to the sloop, with orders to them that they should make it seem, by their carrying it, to be much heavier than it was; this was done to conceal three parcels of goods, which I had packed up with the money, to make a present to the governor, as I intended.

When the money was carried in, and laid down on a table, the governor ordered my men to withdraw, and I gave the soldiers each of them a piece of eight to drink, for which they were very thankful, and the governor seemed very well pleased with it also. Then I asked him, presently, if he would please to receive the money; he said, No, he would not receive it but in presence of the corregidore, and the other people concerned; then I begged his excellency, as I called him, to give me leave to open the parcels in his presence, for that I would do myself the honour to acknowledge his favours in the best manner I could.

He told me no, he could not see anything be brought on

shore, but the money; but, if I had brought anything on shore for my own use, he would not be so strict as to inquire into that, so I might do what I pleased myself.

Upon that I went into the place, shut myself in, and having opened all the things, placed them to my mind. There was five little parcels, as follows:

1, 2. A piece of twenty yards fine English broad-cloth; five yards of black, five yards of crimson, in one parcel, and the rest of fine mixtures in another parcel.
3. A piece of thirty ells of fine Holland linen.
4. A piece of eighteen yards of fine English brocaded silk.
5. A piece of black Colchester bays.

After I had placed these by themselves, I found means, with some seeming difficulties, and much grimace, to bring him to know that this was intended for a present to himself. After all that part was over, and he had seemed to accept them, he signified, after walking a hundred turns and more in the room by them, by throwing his hat, which was under his arm, upon them, and making a very stiff bow; I say, after this, he seemed to take his leave of me for awhile, and I waited in an outer room; when I was called in again, I found that he had looked over all the particulars, and caused them to be removed out of the place.

But when I came again, I found him quite another man; he thanked me for my present; told me, it was a present fit to be given to a viceroy of Mexico, rather than to a mere governor of a fort; that he had done me no services suitable to such a return, but that he would see if he could not oblige me farther before I left the place.

After our compliments were over, I obtained leave to have the corregidore sent for, who accordingly came, and in his presence the money, stipulated for the ransom of the ship, and of the men, was paid.

But here the corregidore showed that he would be as severely just on my side as on theirs, for he would not admit the money as a ransom for us as prisoners, but as a deposit for so much as we were to be ransomed for, if the sentence of our being made prisoners should be confirmed.

And then the governor and corregidore joining together sent a representation of the whole affair, at least we were told

so, to the viceroy of Mexico; and it was privately hinted to me, that I would do well to stay for the return of the aviso, that is, a boat which they send over the bay to Vera Cruz, with an express to Mexico, whose return is generally performed in two months.

I was not unwilling to stay, having secret hints given me, that I should find some way to go with my sloop towards Vera Cruz myself, where I might have an occasion to trade privately for the cargo which I had on board; but it came about a nearer way; for about two days after this money being deposited, as above, the governor's son invited himself on board my sloop, where I told him I would be very glad to see him, and whither, at the same time, he brought with him three considerable merchants, Spaniards, two of them not inhabitants of the place.

When they were on board they were very merry and pleasant, and I treated them so much to their satisfaction, that, in short, they were not well able to go on shore for that night, but were content to take a nap on some carpets, which I caused to be spread for them; and that the governor's son might think himself well used, I brought him a very good silk nightgown, with a crimson velvet cap to lie down in, and in the morning desired him to accept of them for his use, which he took very kindly.

During that merry evening, one of the merchants, not so touched with drink as the young gentleman, nor so as not to mind what it was he came about, takes an occasion to withdraw out of the great cabin, and enter into a parley with the master of the sloop, in order to trade for what European goods we had on board. The master took the hint, and gave me notice of what had passed, and I gave him instructions what to say, and what to do; according to which instructions, they made but few words, bought the goods for about five thousand pieces of eight, and carried them away themselves, and at their own hazards.

This was very agreeable to me, for now I began to see I should lick myself whole, by the sale of this cargo, and should make myself full amends of Jack Spaniard, for all the injuries he had done me in the first of these things; with this view I gave my master or captain of the sloop instructions for sale of all the rest of the goods, and left him to manage by himself, which he did so well, that he sold the whole cargo the next

day to the three Spaniards, with this additional circumstance, that they desired the sloop might carry the goods, as they were on board, to such part of the terra firma as they should appoint, between the Honduras and the coast of La Vera Cruz.

It was difficult for me to make good this part of the bargain; but, finding the price agreed for would very well answer the voyage, I consented; but then how to send the sloop away, and remain among the Spaniards, when I was now a clear man, this was a difficulty too, as it was also to go away, and not wait for a favourable answer from the viceroy of Mexico to the representation of the governor and the corregidore; however, at last, I resolved to go in the sloop, fall out what would, so I went to the governor, and represented to him, that, being now to expect a favourable answer from Mexico, it would be a great loss to me to keep the sloop there all the while, and I desired his leave for me to go with the sloop to Antigua, to sell and dispose of the cargo, which he well knew I was obliged not to bring on shore there at the Havannah, and which would be in danger of being spoiled by lying so long on board.

This I obtained readily, with license to come again into the road, and, for myself only, to come on shore, in order to hear the viceroy's pleasure in my case, which was depending.

CHAPTER XIX.

I MAKE A VERY PROFITABLE VOYAGE—EMBARK ON A SIMILAR ADVENTURE, ACCOMPANIED BY MY WIFE—I FIT UP MY SLOOP FOR DEFENCE, AND SAIL FOR THE WEST INDIES—GREAT SUCCESS OF MY VOYAGE—AFTER VARIOUS CHANGES OF FORTUNE I RETURN TO ENGLAND WEALTHY, WHERE MY WIFE JOINS ME—CONCLUSION.

HAVING thus obtained a license or passport for the sloop and myself, I put to sea with the three Spanish merchants on board with me. They told me they did not live at the Havannah, but it seems one of them did; and some rich merchants of the Havannah, or of the parts thereabouts in the same island, were concerned with them; for they brought on board, the night we put to sea, a great sum of money in

pieces of eight; and, as I understood afterwards, that these merchants bought the cargo of me, and, though they gave me a very great price for everything, yet that they sold them again to the merchants, who they procured on the coast of La Vera Cruz, at a prodigious advantage; so that they got above a hundred per cent. after I had gained very sufficiently before.

We sailed from the Havannah directly for Vera Cruz. I scrupled venturing into the port at first, and was very uneasy, lest I should have another Spanish trick put upon me; but as we sailed under Spanish colours, they showed us such authentic papers from the proper officers, that there was no room to fear anything.

However, when we came in sight of the Spanish coast, I found they had a secret clandestine trade to carry on, which, though it was secret, yet they knew the way of it so well, that it was but a mere road to them. The case was this, we stood in close under the shore in the night, about six leagues to the north of the port, where two of the three merchants went on shore in the boat, and in three hours or thereabouts they came on board again with five canoes, and seven or eight merchants more with them, and as soon as they were on board, we stood off to sea, so that by daylight we were quite out of sight of land.

I ought to have mentioned before, that as soon as we were put to sea from the Havannah, and during our voyage into the Gulf of Mexico, which was eight days, we rummaged the whole cargo, and opening every bale, as far as the Spanish merchants desired, we trafficked with them for the whole cargo, except the barrels of flour and pease.

This cargo was considerable in itself, for my wife's account, or invoice, drawn out by my tutor and manager, amounted to 2684*l.* 10*s.*, and I sold the whole, including what had been sold in the evening, when they were on board first, as I have said, for thirty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-three pieces of eight, and they allowed me twelve hundred pieces of eight for the freight of the sloop, and made my master and the seamen very handsome presents besides, and they were well able to do this too, as you shall hear presently.

After we were gotten out of sight of land, the Spaniards fell to their traffic, and our three merchants opened their shop, as they might say, for it was their shop; as to me, I

had nothing to do with it, or with their goods; they drove their bargain in a few hours, and at night we stood in again for the shore, when the five canoes carried a great part of the goods on shore, and brought the money back in specie, as well for that they carried as for all the rest, and at their second voyage, carried all away clear, leaving me nothing on board but my barrels of flour and pease, which they bade me money for too, but not so much as I expected.

Here I found that my Spanish merchants made above seventy thousand pieces of eight of the cargo I had sold them, upon which, I had a great mind to be acquainted with those merchants on the *terra firma*, who were the last customers; for it presently occurred to me, that I could easily go with a sloop from Virginia, and taking a cargo directed on purpose from England, of about 5000*l.* or 6000*l.*, I might easily make four of one; with this view I began to make a kind of an acquaintance with the Spaniards which came in the canoes, and we became so intimate, that at last, with the consent of the three Spaniards of the Havannah, I accepted an invitation on shore to their house, which was a little villa, or rather plantation, where they had an ingenio, that is to say, a sugar-house, or sugar-work, and there they treated us like princes.

I took occasion at this invitation to say, that, if I knew how to find my way thither again, I could visit them once or twice a-year, very much to their advantage and mine too. One of the Spaniards took the hint, and taking me into a room by myself, Signior, says he, if you have any thoughts of coming to this place again, I shall give you such directions as you shall be sure not to mistake; and, upon either coming on shore in the night, and coming up to this place, or, upon making the signals which we shall give you, we will not fail to come off to you, and bring money enough for any cargaison, so they call it, that you shall bring.

I took all their directions, took their paroles of honour for my safety, and, without taking any notice to my first three merchants, laid up the rest in my most secret thoughts, resolving to visit them again in as short a time as I could; and thus having, in about five days, finished all our merchandizing, we stood off to sea, and made for the island of Cuba, where I set my three Spaniards on shore with all their treasure, to their heart's content, and made the best of my way to Antigua, where, with all the despatch I could, I sold my

two hundred barrels of flour, which however had suffered a little by the length of the voyage; and having laden the sloop with rum, molasses, and sugar, I set sail again for the Havannah.

I was now uneasy indeed, for fear of the pirates, for I was a rich ship, having besides goods, near forty thousand pieces of eight in silver.

When I came back to the Havannah, I went on shore to wait on the governor and the corregidore, and to hear what return was had from the viceroy, and had the good fortune to know that the viceroy had disallowed that part of the sentence which condemned us as prisoners and put a ransom on us, which he insisted could not be but in time of open war; but as to the confiscation, he deferred it to the chamber or council of commerce at Seville, and the appeal to the king, if such be preferred.

This was, in some measure, a very good piece of justice in the viceroy; for, as we had not been on shore, we could not be legally imprisoned; and for the rest, I believe if I would have given myself the trouble to have gone to Old Spain, and have preferred my claim to both the ship and the cargo, I had recovered them also.

However, as it was, I was now a freeman without ransom, and my men were also free, so that all the money which I had deposited, as above, was returned me; and thus I took my leave of the Havannah, and made the best of my way for Virginia, where I arrived after a year and a half's absence; and notwithstanding all my losses, came home above forty thousand pieces of eight richer than I went out.

As to the old affair about the Preston prisoners, that was quite at an end, for the general pardon passed in parliament made me perfectly easy, and I took no more thought about that part. I might here very usefully observe, how necessary and inseparable a companion fear is to guilt; it was but a few months before that the face of a poor Preston transport would have frightened me out of my wits; to avoid them, I feigned myself sick, and wrapped my legs in flannel, as if I had the gout; whereas now they were no more surprise to me, nor was I any more uneasy to see them than I was to see any other of the servants of the plantations.

And that which was more particular than all was, that, though before I fancied every one of them would know me,

and remember me, and consequently betray and accuse me, now, though I was frequently among them, and saw most, if not all of them, one time or other, nay though I remembered several of their faces, and even some of their names, yet there was not a man of them that ever took the least notice of me, or of having known or seen me before.

It would have been a singular satisfaction to me, if I could have known so much as this of them before, and have saved me all the fatigue, hazard, and misfortune that befell me afterwards; but man, a short-sighted creature, sees so little before him, that he can neither anticipate his joys, nor prevent his disasters, be they ever so little a distance from him.

I had now my head full of my West India project, and I began to make provision for it accordingly; I had a full account of what European goods were most acceptable in New Spain; and, to add to my speed, I knew that the Spaniards were in great want of European goods, the galleons from Old Spain having been delayed to an unusual length of time for the two years before. Upon this account, not having time, as I thought, to send to England for a cargo of such goods as were most proper, I resolved to load my sloop with tobacco and rum, the last I brought from Antigua, and go away to Boston in New England, and to New York, and see if I could pick up a cargo to my mind.

Accordingly, I took twenty thousand pieces of eight in money, and my sloop laden as above, and taking my wife with me, we went away; it was an odd and new thing at New England, to have such a quantity of goods bought up there by a sloop from Virginia, and especially to be paid for in ready money, as I did for most of my goods; and this set all the trading heads upon the stretch, to inquire what and who I was, to which they had an immediate and direct answer, that I was a very considerable planter in Virginia, and that was all any of my men on board the sloop could tell of me, and enough too.

Well, it was the cause of much speculation among them, as I heard at second and third hands; some said, he is certainly going to Jamaica, others said, he is going to trade with the Spaniards; others, that he is going to the South Sea and turn half merchant, half pirate, on the coast of Chili and Peru; some one thing, some another, as the men gossips

found their imaginations directed; but we went on with our business, and laid out twelve thousand pieces of eight, besides our cargo of rum and tobacco, and went from thence to New York, where we laid out the rest.

The chief of the cargo we bought here was fine English broadcloth, serges, druggets, Norwich stuffs, bays, says, and all kinds of woollen manufactures, as also linen of all sorts, a very great quantity, and near 1000*l.* in fine silks of several sorts.

Being thus freighted, I came back safe to Virginia, and with very little addition to my cargo, began to prepare for my West India voyage.

I should have mentioned, that I had built upon my sloop, and raised her a little, so that I had made her carry twelve guns, and fitted her up for defence, for I thought she should not be attacked and boarded by a few Spanish barco longos, as she was before; and I found the benefit of it afterwards, as you shall hear.

We set sail the beginning of August, and as I had twice been attacked by pirates in passing the gulf of Florida, or among the Bahama islands, I resolved, though it was farther about, to stand off to sea, and so keep, as I believed it would be, out of the way of them.

We passed the tropic, as near as we could guess, just where the famous Sir William Phipps fished up the silver from the Spanish plate wreck, and standing in between the islands, kept our course W. by S., keeping under the isle of Cuba, and so running away, trade, as they call it, into the great gulf of Mexico, leaving the island of Jamaica to the S. and S.E., by this means avoiding, as I thought, all the Spaniards of Cuba, or the Havannah.

As we passed the west point of Cuba, three Spanish boats came off to board us, as they had done before, on the other side of the island; but they found themselves mistaken, we were too many for them, for we run out our guns, which they did not perceive before, and firing three or four shot at them, they retired.

The next morning they appeared again, being five large boats and a bark, and gave us chase; but we then spread our Spanish colours, and brought too to fight them, at which they retired, so we escaped this danger by the addition of force which we had made to our vessel.

We now had a fair run for our port, and, as I had taken very good directions, I stood away to the north of St. John d'Ulva, and then running in for the shore, found the place appointed exactly; and going on shore, I sent the master of my sloop directly to the ingenio, where he found the Spanish merchant at his house, and where he dwelt like a sovereign prince, who welcomed him, and understanding that I was in a particular boat at the creek, as appointed, he came immediately with him, and bringing another Spaniard from a villa not far off, in about four hours they were with me.

They would have persuaded me to go up to their houses and have stayed there till the next night, ordering the sloop to stand off as usual, but I would not consent to let the sloop go to sea without me, so we went on board directly; and, as the night was almost run, stood off to sea, so by daybreak, we were quite out of sight of land.

Here we began, as I said before, to open shop, and I found the Spaniards were extremely surprised at seeing such a cargo, I mean so large, for in short, they had cared not if it had been four times as much. They soon ran through the contents of all the bales we opened that night, and, with very little dispute about the price, they approved and accepted all that I showed them; but, as they said they had not money for any greater parcel, they agreed to go on shore the next evening for more money.

However, we spent the remainder of the night in looking over and making inventories or invoices of the rest of the cargo, that so they might see the goods, know the value, and know what more money they had to bring.

Accordingly, in the evening, we stood in for the shore, and they carried part of the cargo with them, borrowing the sloop's boat to assist them; and after they had lodged and landed the goods, they came on board again, bringing three of the other merchants with them, who were concerned before, and money enough to clear the whole ship, ay, and ship and all, if I had been willing to sell her.

To give them their due, they dealt with me like men of honour; they were indeed sensible that they bought everything much cheaper of me than they did before of the three merchants of the Havannah; these merchants having been, as it were, the hucksters, and bought them first of me, and then advanced, as I have said, above one hundred per cent

upon the price they gave me; but yet, at the same time, I advanced in the price much more now than I did before to the said Spaniards, nor was it without reason, because of the length and risk of the voyage, both out and home, which now lay wholly upon me.

In short, I sold the whole cargo to them, and for which I received near two hundred thousand pieces of eight in money, besides which, when they came on board the second time, they brought all their boats loaden with fresh provisions, hogs, sheep, fowls, sweetmeats, &c., enough for my whole voyage, all which they made a present of to me, and thus we finished our traffic to our mutual satisfaction, and parted with promises of farther commerce, and with assurances on their part of all acts of friendship and assistance that I could desire, if any disaster should befall me in any of these adventures; as indeed was not improbable, considering the strictness and severity of their customs, in case any people were taken trading upon their coast.

I immediately called a council with my little crew, which way we should go back; the mate was for beating it up to windward, and getting up to Jamaica; but, as we were too rich to run any risks, and were to take the best course to get safe home, I thought, and so did the master of the sloop, that our best way was to coast about the bay, and, keeping the shore of Florida on board, make the shortest course to the gulf, and so make for the coast of Carolina, and to put in there, into the first port we could, and wait for any English men-of-war that might be on the coast to secure us to the capes.

This was the best course we could take, and proved very safe to us, excepting that, about the cape of Florida, and on the coast in the gulf, till we came to the height of St Augustine, we were several times visited with the Spaniards' barco longos, and small barks, in hopes of making a prize of us; but carrying Spanish colours, deceived most of them, and a good tier of guns kept the rest at a distance, so that we came safe, though once or twice in danger of being run on shore by a storm of wind; I say we came safe into Charles' river in Carolina.

From hence I found means to send a letter home, with an account to my wife of my good success; and having an account that the coast was clear of pirates, though there were

no men-of-war in the place, I ventured forward, and, in short, got safe into the bay of Chesapeake, that is to say, within the capes of Virginia, and in a few days more to my own house, having been absent three months and four days.

Never did any vessel on this side the world make a better voyage in so short a time, than I made in this sloop; for by the most moderate computation, I cleared, in these three months, 25,000*l.* sterling in ready money, all the charges of the voyages to New England also being reckoned up.

Now was my time to have sat still contented with what I had got, if it was in the power of man to know when his good fortune was at the highest. And more, my prudent wife gave it as her opinion, that I should sit down satisfied, and push the affair no farther, and earnestly persuaded me to do so; but I that had a door open, as I thought, to immense treasure, that had found the way to have a stream of the golden rivers of Mexico flow into my plantation of Virginia, and saw no hazards, more than what were common to all such things in the prosecution; I say, to me these things looked with another face, and I dreamed of nothing but millions and hundreds of thousands; so, contrary to all moderate measures, I pushed on for another voyage, and laid up a stock of all sorts of goods that I could get together, proper for the trade. I did not indeed go again to New England, for I had by this time a very good cargo come from England, pursuant to a commission I had sent several months before; so that, in short, my cargo, according to the invoice now made out, amounted to above 10,000*l.* sterling first cost, and was a cargo so sorted, and so well bought, that I expected to have advanced upon them much more in proportion than I had done in the cargo before.

With these expectations, we began our second voyage in April, being about five months after our return from the first; we had not indeed the same good speed, even in our beginning, as we had at first; for though we stood off to sea about sixty leagues, in order to be out of the way of the pirates, yet we had not been above five days at sea, but we were visited and rifled by two pirate barks, who, being bound to the northward, that is to say, the banks of Newfoundland, took away all our provisions, and all our ammunition, and small arms, and left us very ill provided to pursue our voyage; and it being so near home, we thought it ad-

visable to come about, and stand in for the capes again, to restore our condition, and furnish ourselves with stores of all kinds for our voyage; this took us up about ten days, and we put to sea again; as for our cargo, the pirates did not meddle with it, being all bale goods, which they had no present use for, and knew not what to do with if they had them.

We met with no other adventure worth naming, till by the same course that we had steered before, we came into the gulf of Mexico; and the first misfortune we met with here was, that, on the back of Cuba, crossing towards the point of the terra firma, on the coast of Jucatan, we had sight of the flota of New Spain, that is, of the ships which come from Carthagena or Porto Bello, and go to the Havannah, in order to pursue their voyage to Europe.

They had with them one Spanish man-of-war, and three frigates; two of the frigates gave us chase; but, it being just at the shutting in of the day, we soon lost sight of them, and, standing to the north, across the bay of Mexico, as if we were going to the mouth of Mississippi, they lost us quite, and, in a few days more, we made the bottom of the bay, being the port we were bound for.

We stood in as usual, in the night, and gave notice to our friends; but, instead of their former readiness to come on board, they gave us notice that we had been seen in the bay, and that notice of us was given at Vera Cruz, and at other places, and that several frigates were in quest of us, and that three more would be cruising the next morning in search for us.

We could not conceive how this could be: but we were afterwards told, that those three frigates, having lost sight of us in the night, had made in for the shore, and had given the alarm of us as of privateers.

Be that as it would, we had nothing to do, but to consider what course to take immediately. The Spanish merchants advice was very good if we had taken it, namely, to have unladen as many of our bales as we could that very night by the help of our boat and their canoes, and to make the best of our way in the morning to the north of the gulf, and take our fate.

This my skipper, or master, thought very well of, but when we began to put it into execution, we were so confused, and in such a hurry, being not resolved what

course to take, that we could not get out above sixteen bales of all sorts of goods, before it began to be too light, and it behoved us to sail; at last the master proposed a medium, which was, that I should go on shore in the next boat, in which were five bales of goods more, and that I should stay on shore, if the Spanish merchants would undertake to conceal me, and let them go to sea, and take their chance.

The Spanish merchants readily undertook to protect me, especially it being so easy to have me pass for a natural Spaniard, and so they took me on shore with twenty-one bales of my goods, and the sloop stood off to sea. If they met with any enemies, they were to stand in for the shore the next night, and we failed not to look well out for them, but to no purpose, for the next day they were discovered and chased by two Spanish frigates; they stood from them, and the sloop, being an excellent sailer, gained so much, that they would certainly have been clear of them when night came on, but a small picaroon of a sloop kept them company in spite of all they could do, and two or three times offered to engage them, thereby to give time to the rest to come up, but the sloop kept her way, and gave them a chase of three days and nights, having a fresh gale of wind at S.W. till she made the Rio Grand, or, as the French call it, the Mississippi, and there finding no remedy, they ran the vessel on shore, not far from the fort, which the Spaniards call Pensacola, garrisoned at that time with French; our men would have entered the river as a port, but having no pilot, and the current of the river being strong against them, the sloop ran on shore, and the men shifted as well as they could in their boats.

I was now in a very odd condition indeed, though my circumstances were in one sense very happy, namely, that I was in the hands of my friends, for such really they were, and so faithful, that no men could have been more careful of their own safety, than were they of mine; and that which added to the comfort of my new condition, was the produce of my goods, which were gotten on shore by their own advice and direction, which was a fund sufficient to maintain me with them as long as I could be supposed to stay there; and the first merchant to whose house I went, assured me, that he would give me credit, for twenty thousand pieces of eight, if I had occasion for it.

My greatest affliction was, that I knew not how to convey news to my wife of my present condition, and how, among many misfortunes of the voyage, I was yet safe, and in good hands.

But there was no remedy for this part, but the great universal cure of all incurable sorrows, viz., patience; and, indeed I had a great deal of reason, not for patience only, but thankfulness, if I had known the circumstances which I should have been reduced to, if I had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; the best of which that I could reasonably have expected, had been, to have been sent to the mines, or, which was ten thousand times worse, the inquisition; or, if I had escaped the Spaniards, as my men in the sloop did, the hardships they were exposed to, the dangers they were in, and the miseries they suffered, were still worse, in wandering among savages, and the more savage French, who plundered and stripped them, instead of relieving and supplying them in their long wilderness journey over the mountains, till they reached the S.W. parts of South Carolina, a journey which indeed deserves to have an account to be given of it by itself; I say, all these things, had I known of them, would have let me see that I had a great deal of reason, not only to be patient under my present circumstances, but satisfied and thankful.

Here, as I said, my patron, the merchant, entertained me like a prince, he made my safety his peculiar care; and while we were in any expectation of the sloop being taken, and brought into Vera Cruz, he kept me retired at a little house in a wood, where he kept a fine aviary of all sorts of American birds, and out of which he yearly sent some as presents to his friends in old Spain.

This retreat was necessary, lest, if the sloop should be taken and brought into Vera Cruz, and the men be brought in prisoners, they should be tempted to give an account of me as their supercargo or merchant, and where both I and the twenty-one bales of goods were set on shore. As for the goods, he made sure work with them, for they were all opened, taken out of the bales, and separated, and, being mixed with other European goods which came by the galleons, were made up in new package, and sent to Mexico in several parcels, some to one merchant, some to another; so that it was impossible to have found them out, even if they had had information of them.

In this posture, and in apprehension of some bad news of the sloop, I remained at the villa, or house in the vale, for so they called it, about five weeks. I had two negroes appointed to wait on me, one of whom was my purveyor, or my cook, the other my valet; and my friend, the master of all, came constantly every evening to visit and sup with me, when we walked out together into the aviary, which was, of its kind, the most beautiful thing that ever I saw in the world.

After above five weeks' retreat of this kind, he had good intelligence of the fate of the sloop, viz., that the two frigates and a sloop had chased her till she ran on ground near the fort of Pensacola; that they saw her stranded and broke in pieces by the force of the waves, the men making their escape in their boat.

This news was brought, it seems, by the said frigates to La Vera Cruz, where my friend went on purpose to be fully informed, and received the account from one of the captains of the frigates, and discoursed with him at large about it.

I was better pleased with the loss of the sloop and all my cargo, the men being got on shore and escaping, than I should have been with the saving the whole cargo, if the men had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, for now I was safe, whereas then, it being supposed they would have been forced to some discovery about me, I must have fled, and should have found it very difficult to have made my escape, even with all that my friends could have done for me too.

But now I was perfectly easy, and my friend, who thought confining me at the house in the vale no longer needful, brought me publicly home to his dwelling-house, as a merchant come from Old Spain by the last galleons, and who, having been at Mexico, was come to reside with him.

Here I was dressed like a Spaniard of the better sort, had three negroes to attend me, and was called Don Ferdinand de Villa Moresa, in Castilia Feja, that is to say, in Old Castile.

Here I had nothing to do but to walk about, and ride out into the woods, and come home again to enjoy the pleasantest and most agreeable retirement in the world; for certainly no

men in the world live in such splendour, and wallow in such immense treasures, as the merchants of this place.

They live, as I have said, in a kind of country retreat at their villas, or, as we would call them in Virginia, their plantations, and, as they call them, their ingenios, where they make their indigo and their sugars; but they have also houses and warehouses at Vera Cruz, where they go twice a year, when the galleons arrive from Old Spain, and when these galleons relade for their return; and it was surprising to me, when I went to La Vera Cruz with them, to see what prodigious consignments they had from their correspondents in Old Spain, and with what despatch they managed them; for no sooner were the cases, packages, and bales of European goods brought into their warehouses, but they were opened, and repacked by porters and packers of their own, that is to say, negroes and Indian servants; and being made up into new bales, and separate parcels, were all despatched again, by horses, for Mexico, and directed to their several merchants there, and the remainder carried home, as above, to the ingenio where they lived, which was near thirty English miles from Vera Cruz, so that, in about twenty days, their warehouses were again entirely free. At La Vera Cruz, all their business was over there, and they and all their servants retired; for they stayed no longer there than needs must, because of the unhealthiness of the air.

After the goods were thus despatched, it was equally surprising, to see how soon, and with what exactness, the merchants of Mexico, to whom those cargoes were separately consigned, made the return, and how it came all in silver or in gold, so that their warehouses, in a few months, were piled up, even to the ceiling, with chests of pieces of eight, and with bars of silver.

It is impossible to describe, in the narrow compass of this work, with what exactness and order, and yet with how little hurry, and not the least confusion, everything was done, and how soon a weight of business of such importance and value was negotiated and finished, the goods repacked, invoices made, and everything despatched and gone; so that, in about five weeks, all the goods they had received from Europe by the galleons were disposed of, and entered in their journals, to the proper account of their merchant, to whom they were

respectively consigned; from thence they had bookkeepers, who drew out the invoices and wrote the letters, which the merchant himself only read over and signed, and then other hands copied all again into other books.

I can give no estimate of the value of the several consignments they received by that flota; but I remember that, when the galleons went back, they shipped on board, at several times, one million three hundred thousand pieces of eight in specie, besides a hundred and eighty bales or bags of cochineal, and about three hundred bales of indigo, but they were so modest, that they said, this was for themselves and their friends; that is to say, the several merchants of Mexico consigned large quantities of bullion to them, to ship on board and consign according to their order; but then I know also, that, for all that, they were allowed commission, so that their gain was very considerable, even that way also.

I had been with them at La Vera Cruz, and came back again before we came to an account for the goods which I had brought on shore in the twenty-one bales, which, by the account we brought them (leaving a piece of everything to be governed by our last market), amounted to eight thousand five hundred and seventy pieces of eight, all which money my friend, for so I must now call him, brought me in specie, and caused his negroes to pile them up in one corner of my apartment; so that I was indeed still very rich, all things considered.

There was a bale which I had caused to be packed up on purpose in Virginia, and which indeed, I had written for from England, being chiefly of fine English broad-cloths, silk, silk-druggets, and fine stuffs of several kinds, with some very fine Hollands, which I set apart for presents, as I should find occasion; and as, whatever hurry I was in at carrying the twenty-one bales of goods on shore, I did not forget to let this bale be one of them, so, when we came to a sale for the rest, I told them that this was a pack with clothes and necessaries for my own wearing and use, and so desired it might not be opened with the rest, which was accordingly observed, and that bale or pack was brought into my apartment.

This bale was, in general, made up of several smaller bales, which I had directed, so that I might have room to make presents, equally sorted as the circumstance might

direct me. However, they were all considerable, and I reckoned the whole bale cost me near 200*l.* sterling in England; and, though my present circumstances required some limits to my bounty in making presents, yet the obligation I was under, being so much the greater, especially to this one friendly generous Spaniard, I thought I could not do better than, by opening two of the smaller bales, join them together, and make my gift something suitable to the benefactor, and to the respect he had shown me; accordingly I took two bales, and, laying the goods together, the contents were as follows:—

Two pieces of fine English broadcloth, the finest that could be got in London, divided, as was that which I gave to the governor, at the Havannah, into fine crimson in grain, fine light mixtures, and fine black.
Four pieces of fine Holland, of 7*s.* to 8*s.* per ell in London.
Twelve pieces of fine silk drugget and duroys, for mens' wear.
Six pieces of broad silks, two damasks, two brocaded silks, and two mantuas.
With a box of ribands, and a box of lace, the last cost about 40*l.* sterling in England.

This handsome parcel I laid open in my apartment, and brought him up stairs one morning, on pretence to drink chocolate with me, which he ordinarily did; when, as we drank chocolate, and were merry, I said to him, though I had sold him almost all my cargo, and taken his money, yet the truth was, that I ought not to have sold them to him, but to have laid them all at his feet, for that it was to his direction I owed the having anything saved at all.

He smiled, and, with a great deal of friendship in his face, told me, that not to have paid me for them, would have been to have plundered a shipwreck, which had been worse than to have robbed an hospital.

At last I told him, I had two requests to make to him, which must not be denied. I told him I had a small present to make him, which I would give him a reason why he should not refuse to accept; and the second request, I would make after the first was granted. He said he would have accepted my present from me, if I had not been under a disaster, but,

as it was, it would be cruel and ungenerous. But, I told him, he was obliged to hear my reason for his accepting it. Then I told him, that this parcel was made up for him by name, by my wife and I in Virginia, and his name set on the marks of the bale, and accordingly I showed him the marks, which was indeed on one of the bales, but I had doubled it now, as above, so that I told him these were his own proper goods; and, in short I pressed him so to receive them, that he made a bow, and I said no more, but ordered my negro, that is to say, his negro that waited on me, to carry them all, except the two boxes, into his apartments, but would not let him see the particulars, till they were all carried away.

After he was gone, about a quarter of an hour, he came in raving, and almost swearing, and in a great passion, but I could easily see he was exceedingly pleased; and told me, had he known the particulars, he would never have suffered them to have gone as he did, and at last used the very same compliment that the governor at the Havannah used, viz., that it was a present fit for a viceroy of Mexico, rather than for him.

When he had done, he then told me, he remembered I had two requests to him, and that one was not to be told till after the first was granted, and he hoped now I had something to ask of him, that was equal to the obligation I had laid upon him.

I told him, I knew it was not the custom in Spain, for a stranger to make presents to the ladies, and that I would not in the least doubt, but that, whatever the ladies of his family required, as proper for their use, he would appropriate to them as he thought fit. But that there were two little boxes in the parcel, which my wife with her own hand had directed to the ladies; and I begged he would be pleased with his own hand to give them in my wife's name, as directed; that I was only the messenger, but that I could not be honest, if I did not discharge the trust reposed in me.

These were the two boxes of ribands and lace, which, knowing the nicety of the ladies in Spain, or rather of the Spaniards about their women, I had made my wife pack up, and directed with her own hand, as I have said.

He smiled, and told me it was true, the Spaniards did not ordinarily admit so much freedom among the women as other nations; but he hoped, he said, I would not think the Spa-

niards thought all their women w——s, or that all Spaniards were jealous of their wives. That, as to my present, since he had agreed to accept of it, I should have the direction of what part I pleased to his wife and daughters; for he had three daughters.

Here I strained courtesies again, and told him by no means, I would direct nothing of that kind, I only begged that he would with his own hand present to his donna, or lady, the present designed her by my wife, and that he would present it in her name, now living in Virginia. He was extremely pleased with the nicety I used, and I saw him present it to her accordingly, and could see, at the opening of it, that she was extremely pleased with the present itself, as indeed might very well be; for in that country it was worth a very considerable sum of money.

Though I was used with an uncommon friendship before, and nothing could well be desired more, yet the grateful sense I showed of it, in the magnificence of this present, was not lost, and the whole family appeared sensible of it; so that I must allow that presents, where they can be made in such a manner, are not without their influence, where the persons were not at all mercenary either before or after.

I had here now a most happy and comfortable retreat, though it was a kind of an exile; here I enjoyed everything I could think of, that was agreeable and pleasant, except only a liberty of going home, which, for that reason perhaps, was the only thing I desired in the world; for the grief of one absent comfort is oftentimes capable of embittering all the other enjoyments in the world.

Here I enjoyed the moments which I had never before known how to employ, I mean, that here I learned to look back upon a long ill-spent life, blessed with infinite advantage, which I had no heart given me till now to make use of, and here I found just reflections were the utmost felicity of human life.

Here I wrote these memoirs, having to add, to the pleasure of looking back with due reflections, the benefit of a violent fit of the gout, which, as it is allowed by most people, clears the head, restores the memory, and qualifies us to make the most, and just, and useful remarks upon our own actions.

Perhaps, when I wrote these things down, I did not foresee that the writings of our own stories would be so much the

fashion in England, or so agreeable to others to read, as I find custom, and the humour of the times has caused it to be; if any one that reads my story, pleases to make the same just reflections, which I acknowledge I ought to have made, he will reap the benefit of my misfortunes, perhaps, more than I have done myself. It is evident, by the long series of changes and turns, which have appeared in the narrow compass of one private, mean person's life, that the history of men's lives may be many ways made useful and instructing to those who read them, if moral and religious improvement and reflections are made by those that write them.

There remains many things in the course of this unhappy life of mine, though I have left so little a part of it to speak of, that is worth giving a large and distinct account of, and which gives room for just reflections of a kind which I have not made yet; particularly, I think it just to add how, in collecting the various changes and turns of my affairs, I saw clearer than ever I had done before, how an invincible overruling power, a hand influenced from above, governs all our actions of every kind, limits all our designs, and orders the events of everything relating to us.

And from this observation it necessarily occurred to me, how just it was, that we should pay the homage of all events to him; that as he guided, and had even made the chain of cause and consequences, which nature in general strictly obeyed, so to him should be given the honour of all events, the consequences of those causes, as the first mover and maker of all things.

I, who had hitherto lived, as might be truly said, without God in the world, began now to see farther into all those things, than I had ever yet been capable of before, and this brought me at last to look with shame and blushes upon such a course of wickedness, as I had gone through in the world. I had been bred indeed to nothing of either religious or moral knowledge; what I had gained of either was, first, by the little time of civil life which I lived in Scotland, where my abhorrence of the wickedness of my captain and comrade, and some sober religious company I fell into, first gave me some knowledge of good and evil, and showed me the beauty of a sober, religious life, though, with my leaving that country, it soon left me too; or, secondly, the modest hints,

and just reflections of my steward, whom I called my tutor, who was a man of sincere religion, good principles, and a real true penitent, for his past miscarriages. O! had I with him sincerely repented of what was past, I had not for twenty-four years together lived a life of levity and profligate wickedness after it.

But here I had, as I said, leisure to reflect, and to repent, and to call to mind things past, and with a just detestation learn, as Job, says, to abhor myself in dust and ashes.

It is with this temper that I have written my story. I would have all that design to read it, prepare to do so with the temper of penitents; and remember, with how much advantage they make their penitent reflections at home under the merciful dispositions of Providence in peace, plenty, and ease, rather than abroad, under the discipline of a transported criminal, as my wife and my tutor, or under the miseries and distresses of a shipwrecked wanderer, as my skipper, or captain of the sloop, who, as I hear, died a very great penitent, labouring in the deserts and mountains to find his way home to Virginia, by the way of Carolina, whither the rest of the crew reached, after infinite dangers and hardships; or in exile, however favourably circumstanced as mine, in absence from my family, and for some time in no probable view of ever seeing them any more.

Such, I say, may repent with advantage; but how few are they that seriously look in, till their way is hedged up, and they have no other way to look.

Here, I say, I had leisure to repent; how far it pleases God to give the grace of repentance where he gives the opportunity of it, is not for me to say of myself; it is sufficient that I recommend it to all that read this story, that, when they find their lives come up in any degree to any similitude of cases, they will inquire by me, and ask themselves, is not this the time to repent? Perhaps the answer may touch them.

I have only to add to what was then written, that my kind friends the Spaniards, finding no other method presented for conveying me to my home, that is to say, to Virginia, got a license for me to come in the next galleons, as a Spanish merchant to Cadiz, where I arrived safe with all my treasure, for he suffered me to be at no expenses in his house; and

from Cadiz, I soon got my passage on board an English merchant ship for London, from whence I sent an account of my adventures to my wife, and where, in about five months more she came over to me, leaving with full satisfaction the management of all our affairs in Virginia, in the same faithful hands as before.

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